REPORT RESUMES

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THESE APPENDIXES TO THE 1967 U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION INVESTIGATION OF RACIAL IMBALANCE IN AMERICA'S SCHOOLS CONTAIN EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION AND DATA RELEVANT TO THE STUDY'S FINDINGS. PRESENTED IN THE FIRST APPENDIX ARE TABULATIONS OF THE DEGREE OF PUPIL AND TEACHER SEGREGATION IN VARIOUS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN 1965-66, AND OF THE GROWTH OF SEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN, BORDER, AND NORTHERN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FROM 1950 TO 1966. THE TABLES AND DISCUSSION IN THE SECOND APPENDIX DESCRIBE SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF CITY AND SUBURBAN SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHEAST, GREAT LAKES, GREAT PLAINS, SOUTHEAST, AND FAR WEST REGIONS. FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY SURVEY (COLEMAN, ET. AL.) IS REPORTED IN THE THIRD APPENDIX. HERE TABLES INDICATE THE EFFECT OF THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF A SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM ON NEGRO STUDENTS, ESPECIALLY ON THEIR COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS, AND ON NEGRO AND WHITE ADULTS WHO HAVE ATTENDED SEGREGATED OR DESEGREGATED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. ALSO INDICATED IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDENT PERFORMANCE AND SUCH FACTORS AS STUDENT FAMILY BACKGROUND, TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS, CURRICULUMS, AND SCHOOL FACILITIES. THE REPORT INDICATES THAT THERE APPEARS TO BE AN UPWARD TREND IN THE ACHIEVEMENT LEVEL OF NEGRO STUDENTS AS THE PROPORTION OF THEIR WHITE CLASSMATES INCREASES. CONTAINED IN AN ADDITONAL SECTION ARE EVALUATIONS OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROJECTS IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, AND SYRACUSE, NEW YORK. ACCORDING TO THE EVALUATIONS THE PROJECTS DID NOT IMPROVE THE STUDENTS' READING PERFORMANCE. HOWEVER THE READING PERFORMANCE OF NONPROJECT STUDENTS WHO WERE BUSED TO SCHOOLS WITH A MAJORITY OF WHITE STUDENTS NOTABLY INCREASED. THE LAST APPENDIX CONTAINS FIVE PAPERS WHICH DISCUSS EDUCATIONAL PARKS, DESEGREGATION, EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY, AND EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS, U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., 20402, FOR $1.00. (LB)

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APPENDICES

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Racial Isolation in the Public Schools

UD 003 804

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Introduction

This volume contains the appendices (except the legal appendix in Volume I) to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools.

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Appendix A

EXTENT AND GROWTH OF RACIAL ISOLATION

This appendix contains basic data on the extent and growth of racial isolation in urban schools. The data were, for the most part, compiled and prepared initially by the school ystems listed in the tables. The data were then processed and reanalyzed by the Commission staff.

Table A.1 shows the extent of pupil segregation in elementary schools of 119 school systems in 1965–66: A.2 shows the extent of teacher segregation in elementary schools of 75 school systems in 1965–66, and A.3 shows the growth of segregation in elementary schools of 40 school systems.

A.1.—*Extent of pupil segregation in 119 school systems in Southern, border, and Northern States—Elementary schools, 1965–66*

State and city	Total elementary students	Total white students in elementary schools		Total Negro students in elementary schools		Negro students in schools 90–100 percent Negro		Negro students in majority Negro schools		White students in schools 90–100 percent white	
		Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total white elementary students
SOUTHERN											
Alabama:											
Anniston	4, 174	2, 365	56. 7	1, 809	43. 3	1, 787	98. 8	1, 787	98. 8	2, 365	100. 0
Mobile	26, 712	13, 299	49. 8	13, 413	50. 2	13, 400	99. 9	13, 400	99. 9	13, 299	100. 0
Tuscaloosa	7, 558	3, 898	51. 6	3, 660	48. 4	3, 647	99. 6	3, 647	99. 6	3, 898	100. 0
Arkansas:											
Fayetteville	2, 541	2, 463	96. 9	78	3. 1	--------	--------	--------	--------	2, 463	100. 0
Forrest City	3, 558	1, 566	44. 0	1, 992	56. 0	1, 959	98. 3	1, 959	98. 3	1, 566	100. 0
Helena	3, 991	1, 601	40. 1	2, 390	59. 9	2, 377	99. 5	2, 377	99. 5	1, 601	100. 0
Hot Springs	3, 116	2, 445	78. 5	671	21. 5	608	90. 6	608	90. 6	2, 445	100. 0
Jonesboro	2, 651	2, 371	89. 4	280	10. 6	276	98. 6	276	98. 6	2, 371	100. 0
Little Rock	13, 593	8, 913	65. 6	4, 680	34. 4	4, 476	95. 6	4, 476	95. 6	8, 658	97. 1
Marvell	1, 457	394	27. 0	1, 063	73. 0	1, 043	98. 1	1, 043	98. 1	394	100. 0
Pine Bluff	5, 021	2, 959	58. 9	2, 062	41. 1	2, 025	98. 2	2, 025	98. 2	2, 959	100. 0
Florida:											
Palm Beach County	32, 774	20, 976	64. 0	10, 775	32. 9	9, 313	86. 4	9, 462	87. 8	16, 167	77. 1
Miami	111, 300	81, 410	73. 1	29, 890	26. 8	27, 321	91. 4	28, 213	94. 4	77, 572	95. 3
Tallahassee	10, 702	6, 021	56. 3	4, 681	43. 7	4, 667	99. 7	4, 667	99. 7	6, 021	100. 0
Georgia:											
Americus	1, 991	977	49. 1	1, 014	50. 9	1, 007	99. 3	1, 007	99. 3	977	100. 0
Atlanta	73, 060	32, 301	44. 2	40, 759	55. 8	39, 715	97. 4	40, 289	98. 8	30, 837	95. 4
Augusta	18, 942	11, 856	62. 6	6, 916	36. 5	6, 862	99. 2	6, 862	99. 2	11, 855	100. 0
Marietta	4, 173	3, 238	77. 6	935	22. 4	881	94. 2	881	94. 2	3, 238	100. 0
Waycross	3, 186	1, 634	51. 3	1, 552	48. 7	1, 541	99. 3	1, 541	99. 3	1, 634	100. 0

Louisiana: New Orleans	60, 115	20, 728	34. 5	39, 387	65. 5	37, 799	95. 9	38, 099	96. 7	17, 374	83. 8
Mississippi:											
Hattiesburg	4, 216	2, 239	53. 1	1, 977	46. 9	1, 951	98. 7	1, 951	98. 7	1, 239	100. 0
Vicksburg	3, 510	1, 426	40. 6	2, 084	59. 4	2, 024	97. 1	2, 024	97. 1	1, 426	100. 0
North Carolina:											
Charlotte	43, 300	30, 205	69. 8	13, 095	30. 2	12, 533	95. 7	12, 533	95. 7	28, 622	94. 7
Raleigh	12, 148	8, 617	70. 9	3, 531	29. 1	3, 477	98. 5	3, 477	98. 5	8, 617	100. 0
Rocky Mount	4, 071	2, 233	54. 8	1, 838	45. 2	1, 764	96. 0	1, 764	96. 0	2, 033	91. 0
Winston-Salem	26, 222	18, 853	71. 9	7, 369	28. 1	6, 538	88. 7	7, 009	95. 1	18, 028	95. 6
Oklahoma:											
Muskogee	4, 395	3, 370	76. 7	1, 025	23. 3	975	95. 1	975	95. 1	3, 124	92. 7
Oklahoma City	44, 924	35, 389	78. 8	9, 535	21. 2	8, 628	90. 5	9, 231	96. 8	34, 010	96. 1
Tulsa	44, 821	39, 360	87. 8	5, 461	12. 2	4, 953	90. 7	5, 391	98. 7	38, 873	98. 9
South Carolina:											
Anderson City	6, 883	5, 327	77. 4	1, 556	22. 6	1, 529	98. 3	1, 529	98. 3	5, 327	100. 0
Columbia	18, 263	10, 265	56. 2	7, 998	43. 8	7, 927	99. 1	7, 927	99. 1	10, 265	100. 0
Florence	8, 277	4, 407	53. 2	3, 870	46. 8	3, 834	99. 1	3, 834	99. 1	4, 407	100. 0
Sumter	6, 037	3, 073	50. 9	2, 964	49. 1	2, 935	99. 0	2, 935	99. 0	3, 073	100. 0
Tennessee:											
Knoxville	24, 277	20, 844	85. 9	3, 433	14. 1	2, 722	79. 3	2, 722	79. 3	1, 978	94. 9
Memphis	68, 264	31, 913	46. 8	36, 351	53. 2	34, 578	95. 1	35, 911	98. 8	29, 887	93. 6
Nashville	52, 947	39, 342	74. 3	13, 605	25. 7	11, 188	82. 2	11, 761	86. 4	35, 698	90. 7
Texas:											
Amarillo	17, 490	16, 260	93. 0	1, 230	7. 0	1, 102	89. 6	1, 102	89. 6	15, 992	98. 3
Austin	23, 934	20, 075	83. 9	3, 859	16. 1	3, 326	86. 1	3, 326	86. 1	18, 697	93. 1
Dallas	95, 935	69, 504	72. 4	26, 431	27. 5	21, 840	82. 6	23, 883	90. 3	62, 633	90. 1
Corpus Christi	24, 702	23, 436	94. 9	1, 266	5. 1	392	31. 0	755	59. 7	21, 078	89. 9
Houston	143, 098	94, 533	66. 1	48, 565	33. 9	45, 186	93. 0	47, 409	97. 6	91, 963	97. 3
Lubbock	19, 785	17, 569	88. 8	2, 216	11. 2	1, 357	61. 2	1, 760	79. 4	16, 504	93. 9
Marshall	3, 768	2, 046	54. 3	1, 722	45. 7	1, 698	98. 6	1, 698	98. 6	2, 046	100. 0
San Antonio	43, 675	37, 466	85. 8	6, 209	14. 2	4, 089	65. 9	4, 789	77. 2	33, 483	89. 4
Texarkana	3, 365	2, 374	70. 5	991	29. 4	980	98. 9	980	98. 9	2, 374	100. 0
Wichita Falls	9, 340	7, 990	85. 5	1, 350	14. 5	925	68. 5	1, 070	79. 3	7, 331	91. 8
Virginia: Richmond	28, 622	10, 108	35. 3	18, 514	64. 7	18, 228	98. 5	18, 228	98. 5	9, 637	95. 3

A.1.—*Extent of pupil segregation in 119 school systems in Southern, border, and Northern States—Elementary schools, 1965–66*—Con.

State and city	Total elementary students	Total white students in elementary schools		Total Negro students in elementary schools		Negro students in schools 90-100 percent Negro		Negro students in majority Negro schools		White students in schools 90-100 percent white	
		Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total white elementary students
BORDER											
Delaware: Wilmington	7, 847	2, 412	30. 7	5, 435	69. 3	2, 704	49. 7	5, 034	92. 5	659	27. 3
District of Columbia:											
Washington	91, 994	8, 308	9. 0	83, 686	90. 9	75, 688	90. 4	83, 142	99. 3	2, 853	34. 3
Kansas:											
Kansas City [4]	14, 464	9, 499	65. 7	4, 965	34. 3	3, 605	72. 6	3, 957	79. 7	6, 689	70. 4
Wichita	41, 938	36, 381	86. 7	5, 557	13. 3	3, 531	63. 5	4, 955	89. 1	34, 509	94. 8
Kentucky:											
Lexington	5, 682	3, 213	56. 5	2, 469	43. 5	1, 228	49. 7	1, 608	65. 1	1, 540	47. 9
Louisville	27, 562	15, 109	54. 8	12, 453	45. 2	8, 651	69. 5	10, 520	84. 5	9, 266	61. 3
Maryland: Baltimore	118, 759	42, 382	35. 7	76, 377	64. 3	64, 308	84. 2	70, 504	92. 3	28, 395	67. 0
Missouri:											
Kansas City	47, 991	27, 647	57. 6	20, 344	42. 4	14, 068	69. 1	17, 426	85. 5	18, 027	65. 2
Springfield [2]	10, 675	10, 392	97. 3	283	2. 7	----------	----------	----------	----------	9, 839	94. 7
St. Joseph	11, 257	10, 725	95. 3	532	4. 7	209	39. 3	209	39. 3	9, 791	91. 3
St. Louis	90, 602	33, 251	36. 7	57, 351	63. 3	52, 154	90. 9	53, 773	93. 7	21, 934	66. 0
New Mexico: Albuquerque [1]	41, 332	39, 454	95. 5	1, 088	2. 6	----------	----------	450	41. 4	39, 023	98. 9
NORTHERN											
California:											
Los Angeles [3]	323, 224	190, 414	58. 9	62, 092	19. 2	24, 549	39. 5	54, 348	87. 5	180, 336	94. 7
Oakland	35, 639	15, 033	42. 2	18, 570	52. 1	9, 043	48. 7	15, 455	83. 2	7, 547	50. 2
Pasadena	17, 680	11, 286	63. 8	4, 538	25. 7	----------	----------	3, 240	71. 4	9, 270	82. 1
Pittsburgh [1]	9, 968	4, 998	50. 1	2, 629	26. 4	347	13. 2	347	13. 2	1, 137	22. 7
Richmond	25, 385	19, 151	75. 4	5, 579	22. 0	2, 188	39. 2	4, 622	82. 9	17, 267	90. 2
Sacramento	28, 743	19, 387	67. 4	3, 869	13. 5	----------	----------	1, 689	43. 6	15, 920	82. 1

San Diego	70, 175	60, 183	85. 8	8, 168	11. 6	1, 134	13. 9	5, 986	73. 3	53, 416	88. 7
San Francisco	49, 813	21, 331	42. 8	14, 337	28. 8	3, 031	21. 1	10, 369	72. 3	13, 879	65. 1
San Jose [3]	16, 644	10, 758	64. 6	295	1. 8	--------	--------	--------	--------	10, 758	100. 0
Colorado: Denver	55, 317	36, 530	66. 0	7, 678	13. 9	2, 259	29. 4	5, 780	75. 2	34, 890	95. 5
Connecticut:											
Hartford	19, 984	9, 512	47. 6	8, 614	43. 1	807	9. 4	6, 357	73. 8	6, 299	66. 2
Middleton	3, 883	3, 522	90. 7	361	9. 3	--------	--------	--------	--------	2, 796	79. 4
New Haven	12, 951	6, 470	49. 9	5, 903	45. 6	2, 171	36. 8	4, 329	73. 4	3, 048	47. 1
New London	2, 966	2, 283	77. 0	599	20. 2	--------	--------	218	36. 4	1, 100	48. 2
Illinois:											
Chicago	390, 225	172, 063	44. 1	206, 063	52. 8	183, 812	89. 2	199, 676	96. 9	152, 712	88. 8
E. St. Louis	14, 657	5, 366	36. 6	9, 291	63. 4	7, 467	80. 4	8, 585	92. 4	3, 678	68. 6
Peoria	17, 092	14, 256	83. 4	2, 824	16. 5	592	21. 0	2, 454	86. 9	12, 779	89. 6
Indiana:											
Fort Wayne	22, 963	19, 597	85. 3	3, 250	14. 2	1, 977	60. 8	2, 694	82. 9	17, 183	87. 7
Gary	27, 826	11, 256	40. 5	16, 570	59. 5	14, 899	89. 9	15, 715	94. 8	8, 545	75. 9
Indianapolis	71, 102	49, 236	69. 2	21, 866	30. 8	15, 426	70. 5	18, 423	84. 2	39, 715	80. 7
South Bend	20, 852	16, 787	80. 5	4, 065	19. 5	1, 064	26. 2	2, 077	51. 1	12, 773	76. 0
Iowa: Des Moines [3]	24, 961	23, 139	92. 7	1, 822	7. 3	308	16. 9	977	53. 6	20, 822	90. 0
Maine: Portland [1]	7, 623	7, 558	99. 1	65	. 9	--------	--------	--------	--------	7, 558	100. 0
Massachusetts:											
Boston	58, 570	41, 639	71. 1	16, 931	28. 9	5, 986	35. 4	13, 463	79. 5	31, 977	76. 5
Springfield	19, 061	14, 830	77. 8	3, 689	19. 4	567	15. 4	2, 651	71. 9	12, 272	82. 8
Michigan:											
Ann Arbor	9, 748	9, 046	92. 8	702	7. 2	--------	--------	--------	--------	7, 477	82. 7
Detroit	194, 338	85, 226	43. 8	107, 461	55. 3	77, 654	72. 3	98, 274	91. 5	55, 395	65. 0
Flint	28, 493	19, 054	66. 9	9, 439	33. 1	6, 410	67. 9	8, 103	85. 9	15, 234	80. 0
Minnesota:											
Minneapolis	39, 910	36, 184	90. 7	2, 888	7. 2	--------	--------	1, 133	39. 2	30, 723	84. 9
St. Paul [3]	24, 152	22, 109	91. 5	1, 296	5. 4	445	34. 3	833	64. 2	20, 746	93. 9
Nebraska: Omaha	35, 256	28, 680	81. 3	6, 576	18. 7	3, 140	47. 7	5, 336	81. 1	25, 573	89. 0
Nevada: Reno	15, 645	15, 005	95. 9	331	2. 1	--------	--------	--------	--------	14, 462	96. 4
New Jersey:											
Camden	14, 016	5, 514	39. 3	7, 566	54. 0	2, 810	37. 0	6, 839	90. 4	3, 442	62. 4
Clifton	6, 377	6, 362	99. 8	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	6, 362	100. 0
Newark	53, 266	12, 404	23. 3	36, 805	69. 1	18, 881	51. 3	33, 238	90. 3	4, 604	37. 1
Passaic	4, 890	2, 725	55. 7	1, 431	29. 3	--------	--------	178	12. 4	1, 185	43. 5
Patterson	18, 416	17, 196	93. 4	900	4. 9	--------	--------	40	4. 4	16, 509	96. 0

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State and city	Total elementary students	Total white students in elementary schools		Total Negro students in elementary schools		Negro students in schools 90–100 percent Negro		Negro students in majority Negro schools		White students in schools 90–100 percent white	
		Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total white elementary students
NORTHERN—Continued											
New York:											
Albany	8, 744	6, 217	71. 1	2, 527	28. 9	------	------	1, 869	74. 0	4, 134	66. 5
Binghamton	6, 630	6, 410	96. 7	220	3. 3	------	------	------	------	6, 141	95. 8
Buffalo	49, 219	31, 007	63. 0	17, 016	34. 6	13, 106	77. 0	15, 097	88. 7	2, 513	81. 1
Jamestown	4, 841	4, 696	97. 0	145	3. 0	------	------	------	------	3, 773	80. 3
New York City	592, 044	278, 919	47. 1	183, 268	31. 0	37, 886	20. 7	101, 687	55. 5	158, 140	56. 8
Rochester	29, 278	20, 371	69. 6	8, 907	30. 4	3, 884	43. 6	6, 647	74. 6	13, 341	65. 5
Schenectady	6, 536	6, 138	93. 9	398	6. 1	------	------	------	------	5, 194	84. 6
Syracuse	17, 611	14, 263	81. 0	3, 348	19. 0	------	------	1, 679	50. 1	9, 937	70. 0
Ohio:											
Akron [3]	33, 797	25, 570	75. 6	8, 174	24. 2	3, 347	40. 9	5, 568	68. 1	6, 801	26. 6
Cincinnati	55, 922	33, 363	59. 7	22, 559	40. 3	11, 155	49. 4	19, 868	88. 0	21, 141	63. 3
Cleveland [4]	92, 395	42, 564	46. 1	49, 831	53. 9	41, 034	82. 3	47, 160	94. 6	34, 175	80. 2
Columbus	66, 215	48, 913	73. 9	17, 302	26. 1	5, 933	34. 3	13, 986	80. 8	3, 765	77. 0
Springfield	11, 118	9, 108	81. 9	2, 010	18. 1	571	28. 4	749	37. 3	6, 352	69. 8
Oregon: Portland	54, 717	50, 235	91. 8	4, 482	8. 2	2, 085	46. 5	2, 653	59. 2	46, 223	92. 0
Pennsylvania:											
Chester	6, 482	1, 990	30. 7	4, 492	69. 3	3, 499	77. 9	4, 001	89. 1	755	37. 9
Harrisburg	8, 208	4, 456	54. 3	3, 752	45. 7	2, 025	54. 0	3, 048	81. 3	2, 505	56. 2
Philadelphia	156, 523	64, 829	41. 4	91, 694	58. 6	66, 052	72. 0	82, 704	90. 2	37, 370	57. 7
Pittsburgh	47, 363	28, 717	60. 6	18, 646	39. 4	9, 226	49. 5	15, 428	82. 8	17, 883	62. 3
Scranton	9, 622	9, 501	98. 7	121	1. 3	------	------	87	71. 9	9, 423	99. 2

Rhode Island: Providence	15, 724	12, 770	81. 2	2, 954	18. 8	432	14. 6	1, 638	55. 5	8, 091	63. 3
Utah: Salt Lake City	22, 066	19, 893	90. 2	361	1. 6	--------	--------	--------	--------	19, 212	96. 6
Washington: Seattle[2]	50, 628	42, 053	83. 0	5, 318	10. 5	525	9. 9	3, 212	60. 4	37, 751	89. 8
Wisconsin: Milwaukee	75, 033	55, 230	73. 6	19, 803	26. 4	14, 344	72. 4	17, 204	86. 8	47, 648	86. 3

[1] Figures for 1966–67.
[2] Figures for 1964–65.
[3] Figures for 1963–64.
[4] Figures for 1962–63.

A.2.—*Extent of teacher segregation in 75 school systems in Southern, border, and Northern States, elementary schools, 1965–66*

State and city	Total elementary teachers	Total white teachers in elementary schools		Total Negro teachers in elementary schools		Negro teachers in schools 90–100% Negro		Negro teachers in majority-Negro schools		White teachers in schools 90–100% white	
		Number	Percent of total elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total white elementary teachers
SOUTHERN											
Alabama:											
Anniston	151	89	58. 9	62	41. 1	62	100. 0	62	100. 0	89	100. 0
Tuscaloosa	248	133	53. 6	115	46. 4	115	100. 0	115	100. 0	133	100. 0
Arkansas:											
Fayetteville	90	90	100. 0	----	----	----	----	----	----	90	100. 0
Forrest City	94	45	47. 9	49	52. 1	49	100. 0	49	100. 0	45	100. 0
Helena	126	54	42. 9	72	57. 1	72	100. 0	72	100. 0	54	100. 0
Hot Springs	111. 5	92	82. 5	19. 5	17. 5	19. 5	100. 0	19. 5	100. 0	92	100. 0
Jonesboro	106	96	90. 6	10	9. 4	10	100. 0	10	100. 0	96	100. 0
Little Rock	519	346	66. 7	173	33. 3	171	98. 8	171	98. 8	327	94. 5
Pine Bluff	195	115. 9	59. 4	79. 1	40. 6	78. 5	99. 2	78. 5	99. 2	113	97. 5
Florida:											
Miami	4, 392	3, 420	77. 9	972	22. 1	908	93. 4	929	95. 5	3, 021	88. 3
Tallahassee	366	191	52. 2	175	47. 8	175	100. 0	175	100. 0	191	100. 0
Georgia: Atlanta	2, 784	1, 411	50. 7	1, 373	49. 3	1, 362	99. 2	1, 370	99. 8	1, 285	91. 1
Mississippi:											
Hattiesburg	159	96	60. 4	63	39. 6	63	100. 0	63	100. 0	96	100. 0
Vicksburg	118. 6	55. 6	46. 9	63	53. 1	63	100. 0	63	100. 0	55. 6	100. 0
North Carolina:											
Charlotte	1, 688	1, 208	71. 6	480	28. 4	469	97. 7	469	97. 7	1, 102	91. 2
Raleigh	413	287	69. 5	126	30. 5	126	100. 0	126	100. 0	287	100. 0
Rocky-Mount	150. 9	89. 9	59. 6	61	40. 4	61	100. 0	61	100. 0	80. 2	89. 2
Winston-Salem	962	725	75. 4	237	24. 6	224	94. 5	231	97. 5	655	90. 4
Oklahoma:											
Muskogee	169. 1	132. 1	78. 1	37	21. 9	37	100. 0	37	100. 0	120. 4	91. 1
Oklahoma City	1, 396	1, 138	81. 5	258	18. 5	246	95. 3	252	97. 6	1, 040	91. 4

South Carolina:											
Anderson	219	171	78. 1	48	21. 9	48	100. 0	48	100. 0	171	100. 0
Columbia	612	355	58. 0	257	42. 0	257	100. 0	257	100. 0	355	100. 0
Florence	267. 7	152. 7	57. 0	115	43. 0	115	100. 0	115	100. 0	152. 7	100. 0
Sumter	190. 5	99	52. 0	91. 5	48. 0	91. 5	100. 0	91. 5	100. 0	99	100. 0
Tennessee:											
Knoxville	932. 8	825. 2	88. 5	107. 6	11. 5	102. 6	95. 4	102. 6	95. 4	767. 7	93. 0
Nashville	1, 934	1, 497	77. 4	438	22. 6	433	98. 9	434	99. 1	1, 279	85. 5
Texas:											
Amarillo	724. 5	675	93. 2	49. 5	6. 8	49. 5	100. 0	49. 5	100. 0	658. 25	97. 5
Austin	1, 022. 7	849. 2	83. 0	174. 5	17. 0	164. 5	94. 3	164. 5	94. 3	766. 7	90. 3
Corpus Christi	887. 5	861. 5	97. 1	26	2. 9	16	61. 5	19	73. 0	758. 5	88. 0
Houston	4, 994	3, 441	68. 9	1, 553	31. 1	1, 548	99. 7	1, 551	99. 9	3, 255	94. 5
Lubbock	762	702	92. 1	60	7. 9	53	88. 3	55	91. 6	625	89. 1
Marshall	170	93	54. 7	77	45. 3	77	100. 0	77	100. 0	93	100. 0
Wichita Falls	367	319	86. 9	48	13. 1	40	83. 3	42	87. 5	285	89. 3
Texarkana	125	91	72. 8	34	27. 2	34	100. 0	34	100. 0	91	100. 0
Virginia: Richmond	952	360	37. 8	592	62. 2	590	99. 7	590	99. 7	318	88. 4
BORDER											
Delaware: Wilmington	357	182	51. 0	175	49. 0	99	56. 6	166	94. 9	28	15. 4
District of Columbia: Washington	3, 138	523	16. 7	2, 615	83. 3	2, 390	91. 4	2, 610	99. 8	104	19. 9
Kentucky:											
Lexington	209	141	67. 5	68	32. 5	38	55. 9	52	76. 5	58	41. 1
Louisville	957	632	66. 0	325	34. 0	270	83. 1	310	95. 4	319	50. 4
Maryland: Baltimore	3, 691	1, 639	44. 4	2, 052	55. 6	1, 753	85. 4	1, 890	92. 1	814	49. 6
Missouri:											
Kansas City	1, 617	1, 142	70. 6	475	29. 4	392	82. 5	433	91. 1	609	53. 3
St. Joseph	399	386	96. 7	13	3. 3	6	46. 2	----------	-------	336	87. 1
St. Louis	2, 633. 9	1, 147. 5	43. 6	1, 486. 4	56. 4	1, 413. 9	95. 1	1, 439. 9	96. 8	613. 5	53. 4
New Mexico: Albuquerque[1]	1, 567	1, 531	97. 7	23	1. 5	----------	-------	6	26. 1	1, 493	97. 5

A.2.—*Extent of teacher segregation in 75 school systems in Southern, border, and Northern States, elementary schools, 1965–66*—Continued

State and city	Total elementary teachers	Total white teachers in elementary schools		Total Negro teachers in elementary schools		Negro teachers in schools 90–100% Negro		Negro teachers in majority-Negro schools		White teachers in schools 90–100% white	
		Number	Percent of total elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary teachers	Number	Percent of total white elementary teachers
NORTHERN											
California:											
Pittsburgh [1]	449	401	89. 3	22	4. 9	2	9. 1	2	9. 1	52	13. 0
San Diego	2, 178	2, 086	95. 8	74	3. 4	6	8. 1	38	51. 3	1, 638	78. 5
San Francisco [2]	1, 676	1, 353	80. 7	114	6. 8	20	17. 5	57	50. 0	736	54. 4
Colorado: Denver	2, 047	1, 818	88. 8	183	8. 9	41	22. 4	81	44. 2	1, 498	82. 4
Connecticut:											
Hartford	1, 158	1, 003	86. 6	150	13. 0	15	10. 0	99	66. 0	390	38. 9
New London	113	108	95. 6	5	4. 4	----------	-------	1	20. 0	39	36. 1
Illinois:											
Chicago	14, 294	9, 036	63. 2	5, 181	36. 2	4, 744	91. 6	4, 970	95. 9	5, 695	63. 0
East St. Louis	461	204	44. 3	257	55. 7	222	86. 4	238	92. 6	122	59. 8
Peoria	624	599	96. 0	24	3. 8	4	16. 7	17	70. 8	452	75. 5
Indiana:											
Gary	996	349	35. 2	623	62. 4	501	80. 4	523	83. 9	232	66. 4
Indianapolis	2, 647	1, 987	75. 1	660	24. 9	535	81. 0	608	92. 1	1, 436	72. 2
Massachusetts: Springfield	650	596	91. 7	54	8. 3	2	3. 7	20	37. 1	393	66. 0
Michigan:											
Detroit	6, 615	4, 484	67. 8	2, 115	32. 0	1, 410	66. 7	1, 707	80. 7	1, 801	40. 1
Flint	1, 042	812	77. 9	230	22. 1	155	67. 4	185	80. 4	504	62. 0
New Jersey: Camden	434	225	51. 8	207	47. 7	56	27. 1	160	77. 3	96	42. 7
New York:											
Buffalo	1,922. 8	1,720. 1	89. 5	202. 7	10. 5	162. 6	80. 2	171. 7	84. 7	963. 4	56. 0
Jamestown	195. 5	193. 5	99. 0	2	1. 0	----------	-------	----------	-------	152. 5	78. 8
Schenectady	237	232	97. 9	5	2. 1	----------	-------	----------	-------	192	82. 7
Syracuse	618	563. 5	91. 2	54. 5	8. 8	----------	-------	22	40. 4	335. 5	59. 5
Rochester	1,041	954	91. 6	87	8. 4	38	43. 7	60	68. 9	465	48. 7

Ohio:											
Akron[3]	1,145.9	1,057	92.2	87.9	7.6	40.7	46.3	66.7	75.8	570	53.9
Cincinnati	1,778	1,327	74.6	451	25.4	223	49.4	361	80.0	615	46.4
Columbus	2,508	2,206	88.0	302	12.0	117	38.7	214	70.8	1,194	54.2
Oregon: Portland	2,548	2,411	98.1	47	1.9	13	27.7	17	36.2	2,039	84.6
Pennsylvania:											
Chester	227	115	50.7	112	49.3	101	90.2	105	93.8	26	22.6
Harrisburg	285	221	77.5	64	22.5	34	53.1	50	78.1	88	39.8
Philadelphia	4,357	2,529	58.0	1,828	42.0	1,437	78.6	1,679	91.8	767	30.3
Pittsburgh	1,556	1,373.3	88.2	182.7	11.8	109	59.7	160	87.6	553	40.3
Scranton	298	294	98.7	4	1.3	-----	-----	-----	-----	287	97.7
Washington: Seattle[2]	1,895	1,760	92.9	83	4.4	4	4.8	23	27.7	1,399	79.5
Wisconsin: Milwaukee	1,810	1,470	81.2	340	18.8	248	72.9	281	82.7	1,097	74.6

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[1] Figures for 1966–67. [2] Figures for 1964–65. [3] Figures for 1963–64.

TABLE A.3—*Growth of segregation in 40 school systems in*

State and city	Total elementary students	Total white students in elementary schools		Total Negro students in elementary schools		Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro	
		Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students
SOUTHERN							
Florida—Miami:							
1965–66	11, 300	81, 410	73. 1	29, 890	26. 8	27, 321	91. 4
1960–61	93, 440	72, 348	77. 4	21, 092	22. 6	21, 066	99. 9
1950–51	45, 647	37, 749	82. 7	7, 898	17. 3	7, 898	100. 0
North Carolina—Charlotte:							
1965–66	43, 300	30, 205	69. 8	13, 095	30. 2	12, 533	95. 7
1960–61	40, 218	27, 814	69. 2	12, 404	30. 3	12, 403	99. 9
1955–56	32, 076	22, 408	69. 9	9, 668	30. 1	9, 668	100. 0
1950–51	25, 398	18, 211	71. 7	7, 187	28. 3	7, 187	100. 0
Oklahoma—Oklahoma City:							
1965–66	44, 924	35, 389	78. 8	9, 535	21. 2	8, 628	90. 5
1950–51	26, 155	23, 702	90. 6	2, 453	9. 4	2, 453	100. 0
Texas—Dallas:							
1965–66	95, 935	69, 504	72. 4	26, 431	27. 5	21, 840	82. 6
1960–61	89, 528	69, 787	77. 9	19, 741	22. 1	19, 741	100. 0
1955–56	74, 951	60, 633	80. 9	14, 318	19. 1	14, 318	100. 0
1950–51	50, 097	40, 815	81. 5	9, 282	18. 5	9, 282	100. 0
Virginia—Richmond:							
1965–66	28, 622	10, 108	35. 3	18, 514	64. 7	18, 228	98. 5
1960–61	27, 759	11, 072	39. 9	16, 687	60. 1	16, 687	100. 0
BORDER							
Delaware—Wilmington:							
1965–66	7, 847	2, 412	30. 7	5, 435	69. 3	2, 704	49. 7
1960–61	6, 959	3, 114	44. 7	3, 845	55. 2	1, 487	38. 6
1957–58	6, 866	3, 993	58. 2	2, 873	41. 8	1, 563	54. 4
1950–51	5, 959	4, 259	71. 5	1, 700	28. 5	1, 700	100. 0
District of Columbia—Washington:							
1965–66	91, 994	8, 308	9. 0	83, 686	90. 9	75, 688	90. 4
1960–61	80, 279	13, 498	16. 8	66, 781	83. 2	55, 806	83. 6
1955–56	67, 384	22, 415	33. 3	44, 969	66. 7	33, 055	73. 5
1950–51	59, 398	28, 527	48. 0	30, 871	52. 0	30, 871	100. 0
Kansas—Wichita:							
1965–66	41, 938	36, 381	86. 7	5, 557	13. 3	3, 531	63. 5
1960–61	33, 903	29, 900	88. 2	4, 003	11. 8	2, 956	73. 8
Maryland—Baltimore:							
1965–66	118, 759	42, 382	35. 7	76, 377	64. 3	64, 308	84. 2
1960–61	105, 989	45, 684	43. 1	60, 305	56. 9	50, 673	84. 0
1955–56	97, 418	54, 358	55. 8	43, 060	44. 2	39, 418	91. 5
1954–55	94, 627	54, 914	58. 0	39, 713	42. 0	38, 312	96. 5
Missouri—Kansas City:							
1965–66	47, 991	27, 647	57. 6	20, 344	42. 4	14, 068	69. 1
1960–61	45, 877	31, 775	69. 2	14, 102	30. 7	9, 453	67. 0
1955–56	42, 401	33, 525	79. 1	8, 876	20. 9	6, 500	73. 2
1950–51	36, 785	30, 387	82. 6	6, 398	17. 4	6, 398	100. 0

Southern, border and Northern States, elementary schools

Increase or decrease in Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro; earliest year to latest year		Negro students in majority Negro schools		White students in schools 90 to 100 percent white		Increase or decrease in white students in schools 90 to 100 percent white; earliest year to latest year	
Number	Percent increase or decrease	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total white elementary students	Number	Percent increase or decrease
19, 423	245. 9	28, 213	94. 4	77, 572	95. 3	39, 823	105. 5
----------	--------	21, 066	99. 9	72, 348	100. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	7, 898	100. 0	37, 749	100. 0	----------	--------
5, 346	74. 4	12, 533	95. 7	28, 622	94. 7	10, 411	57. 2
----------	--------	12, 403	99. 9	27, 814	100. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	9, 668	100. 0	22, 408	100. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	7, 187	100. 0	18, 211	100. 0	----------	--------
6, 175	251. 7	9, 231	96. 8	34, 010	96. 1	10, 308	43. 5
----------	--------	2, 453	100. 0	23, 702	100. 0	----------	--------
12, 558	135. 3	23, 883	90. 3	62, 633	90. 1	21, 818	53. 5
----------	--------	19, 741	100. 0	69, 787	100. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	14, 318	100. 0	60, 633	100. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	9, 282	100. 0	40, 815	100. 0	----------	--------
1, 541	9. 2	18, 288	98. 5	9, 637	95. 3	−1, 435	−13. 0
----------	--------	16, 687	100. 0	11, 072	100. 0	----------	--------
1, 004	59. 1	5, 034	92. 5	659	27. 3	−3, 600	−84. 5
----------	--------	3, 449	89. 7	1, 545	49. 6	----------	--------
----------	--------	1, 766	61. 5	1, 581	39. 6	----------	--------
----------	--------	1, 700	100. 0	4, 259	100. 0	----------	--------
44, 817	145. 2	83, 142	99. 3	2, 853	34. 3	−25, 674	−90. 0
----------	--------	66, 001	98. 8	6, 902	51. 2	----------	--------
----------	--------	42, 972	95. 6	14, 804	66. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	30, 871	100. 0	28, 527	100. 0	----------	--------
575	19. 5	4, 955	89. 1	34, 509	94. 8	6, 218	22. 0
----------	--------	3, 593	89. 8	28, 291	94. 6	----------	--------
25, 996	67. 9	70, 540	92. 4	28, 395	67. 0	−24, 123	−45. 9
----------	--------	56, 416	93. 6	34, 025	74. 5	----------	--------
----------	--------	41, 060	95. 4	45, 903	84. 4	----------	--------
----------	--------	38, 672	97. 4	52, 518	95. 6	----------	--------
7, 670	119. 9	17, 426	85. 7	18, 027	65. 2	−12, 360	−40. 7
----------	--------	12, 271	87. 0	25, 831	81. 3	----------	--------
----------	--------	7, 666	86. 3	29, 414	87. 7	----------	--------
----------	--------	6, 398	100. 0	30, 387	100. 0	----------	--------

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TABLE A.3—*Growth of segregation in 40 school systems in*

State and city	Total elementary students	Total white students in elementary schools		Total Negro students in elementary schools		Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro	
		Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students
NORTHERN							
California—							
Oakland:							
1965–66	35, 639	15, 033	42. 2	18, 570	52. 1	9, 043	48. 7
1959–60[1]	37, 214	21, 548	57. 9	14, 453	38. 8	1, 110	7. 7
1949–50[1]	30, 466	25, 628	84. 1	4, 305	14. 1	------	------
Pasadena:							
1965–66	17, 680	11, 286	63. 8	4, 538	25. 7	------	------
1963–64	17, 114	11, 682	68. 3	3, 746	21. 9	------	------
1961–62	16, 543	12, 047	72. 8	3, 001	18. 1	------	------
1955–56	13, 793	11, 536	83. 6	1, 374	10. 0	------	------
1950–51	11, 687	10, 317	88. 3	747	6. 4	------	------
Sacramento:							
1965–66	28, 743	19, 387	67. 4	3, 869	13. 5	------	------
1963–64	27, 424	19, 131	69. 8	3, 218	11. 7	295	9. 2
San Francisco:							
1965–66	49, 813	21, 331	42. 8	14, 337	28. 8	3, 031	21. 1
1962–63	52, 959	31, 782	60. 0	13, 639	25. 8	1, 579	11. 6
Connecticut—							
New Haven:							
1965–66	12, 951	6, 470	49. 9	5, 903	45. 6	2, 171	36. 8
1964–65	12, 851	6, 786	52. 8	5, 515	42. 9	2, 023	36. 7
1963–64	13, 429	7, 643	56. 9	5, 305	39. 5	1, 196	22. 5
Illinois—							
East St. Louis:							
1965–66	14, 657	5, 366	36. 6	9, 291	63. 4	7, 467	80. 4
1962–63	13, 242	6, 026	45. 5	7, 216	54. 5	6, 434	89. 2
1954–55	9, 714	4, 864	50. 1	4, 850	49. 9	4, 526	93. 3
Peoria:							
1965–66	17, 092	14, 256	83. 4	2, 824	16. 5	592	21. 0
1950–51	10, 163	9, 340	91. 9	821	8. 1	------	------
Indiana—							
Fort Wayne:							
1965–66	22, 963	19, 597	85. 3	3, 250	14. 2	1, 977	60. 8
1960–61	20, 636	18, 107	87. 7	2, 474	12. 0	------	------
Indianapolis:							
1965–66	71, 102	49, 236	69. 2	21, 866	30. 8	15, 426	70. 5
1960–61	59, 547	42, 699	71. 7	16, 848	28. 3	11, 945	70. 9
1951–52	45, 362	36, 181	79. 8	9, 181	20. 2	7, 637	83. 2
South Bend:							
1965–66	20, 852	16, 787	80. 5	4, 065	19. 5	1, 064	26. 2
1963–64	21, 032	17, 206	81. 8	3, 826	18. 2	588	15. 4
1960–61	17, 740	14, 664	82. 7	3, 076	17. 3	535	17. 4
Massachusetts—							
Springfield:							
1965–66	19, 061	14, 830	77. 8	3, 689	19. 4	567	15. 4
1963–64	19, 417	15, 588	80. 3	3, 386	17. 4	------	------
Michigan—							
Ann Arbor:							
1965–66	9, 748	9, 046	92. 8	702	7. 2	------	------
1963–64	8, 669	8, 123	93. 6	546	6. 3	------	------

Southern, border and Northern States, elementary schools—Continued

Increase or decrease in Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro; earliest year to latest year		Negro students in majority Negro schools		White students in schools 90 to 100 percent white		Increase or decrease white students in schools 90 to 100 percent white; earliest year to latest year	
Number	Percent increase or decrease	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total white elementary students	Number	Percent increase or decrease
9, 043	--------	15, 455	83. 2	7, 547	50. 2	−13, 466	−64. 1
		10, 274	71. 1	12, 190	56. 5	--------	--------
--------	--------	2, 632	61. 1	21, 013	82. 0	--------	--------
--------	--------	3, 240	71. 4	9, 270	82. 1	−314	−3. 3
--------	--------	2, 785	74. 3	9, 966	85. 3	--------	--------
--------	--------	1, 816	60. 5	10, 937	90. 7	--------	--------
--------	--------	706	51. 4	10, 457	90. 6	--------	--------
--------	--------	196	26. 2	9, 584	93. 0	--------	--------
−295	−100. 0	1, 689	43. 6	15, 920	82. 1	181	1. 2
--------	--------	1, 459	45. 4	15, 739	82. 3	--------	--------
1, 452	92. 0	10, 369	72. 3	13, 879	65. 1	−9, 093	−39. 6
--------	--------	10, 334	75. 8	22, 972	72. 2	--------	--------
--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------
975	81. 5	4, 329	73. 4	3, 048	47. 1	−367	−10. 7
--------	--------	3, 812	69. 1	2, 624	38. 7	--------	--------
--------	--------	3, 769	71. 0	3, 415	44. 7	--------	--------
2, 941	65. 0	8, 585	92. 4	3, 678	68. 6	−673	−15. 5
--------	--------	6, 899	95. 6	5, 184	86. 0	--------	--------
--------	--------	4, 526	93. 3	4, 351	89. 4	--------	--------
592	--------	2, 454	86. 9	12, 779	89. 6	4, 604	56. 4
--------	--------	308	37. 5	8, 173	87. 5	--------	--------
1, 977	--------	2, 694	82. 9	17, 183	87. 7	1, 138	7. 1
--------	--------	1, 783	72. 1	16, 045	88. 6	--------	--------
7, 789	102. 0	18, 423	84. 2	39, 715	80. 7	6, 537	19. 7
--------	--------	13, 356	79. 2	34, 461	80. 7	--------	--------
--------	--------	8, 101	88. 2	33, 178	91. 6	--------	--------
529	98. 9	2, 077	51. 1	12, 773	76. 0	961	8. 1
--------	--------	2, 627	68. 7	14, 090	81. 9	--------	--------
--------	--------	1, 859	60. 4	11, 812	80. 6	--------	--------
567	--------	2, 651	71. 9	12, 272	82. 8	−489	−3. 8
--------	--------	1, 989	58. 8	12, 761	81. 8	--------	--------
--------	--------	--------	--------	7, 477	82. 7	290	4. 0
--------	--------	153	28. 0	7, 187	88. 5	--------	--------

TABLE A.3—*Growth of segregation in 40 school systems in*

State and city	Total elementary students	Total white students in elementary schools		Total Negro students in elementary schools		Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro	
		Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students
NORTHERN—con.							
Detroit:							
1965–66	194, 338	85, 226	43. 9	107,461	55. 3	77, 654	72. 3
1960–61	201, 257	106, 836	53. 1	93, 192	46. 3	62, 391	66. 9
Flint:							
1965–66	28, 493	19, 054	66. 9	9, 439	33. 1	6, 410	67. 9
1959–60	24, 751	18, 261	73. 8	6, 490	26. 2	2, 711	41. 8
1955–56	21, 557	17, 215	79. 9	4, 342	20. 1	2, 260	52. 1
1950–51	15, 398	13, 456	87. 4	1, 942	12. 6	779	40. 1
New Jersey—							
Newark:							
1965–66	53, 266	12, 404	23. 3	36, 805	69. 1	18, 881	51. 3
1963–64	48, 012	14, 323	29. 8	30, 844	64. 2	18, 880	61. 2
1961–62	43, 460	16, 057	36. 9	25, 353	58. 3	12, 353	48. 7
New York—							
Albany:							
1965–66	8, 744	6, 217	71. 1	2, 527	28. 9	-------	-------
1962–63	8, 891	6, 927	77. 9	1, 964	22. 1	-------	-------
Buffalo:							
1965–66	49, 219	31, 007	63. 0	17, 016	34. 6	13, 106	77. 0
1961–62	34, 485	22, 471	65. 2	11, 422	33. 1	9, 199	80. 5
Syracuse:							
1965–66	17, 611	14, 263	81. 0	3, 348	19. 0	-------	-------
1964–65	17, 672	14, 577	82. 5	3, 095	17. 5	-------	-------
1962–63	14, 974	12, 785	85. 4	2, 189	14. 6	667	30. 5
Ohio—							
Akron:							
1963–64	33, 797	25, 570	75. 6	8, 174	24. 2	3, 347	40. 9
1960–61	32, 940	25, 574	77. 6	7, 366	22. 4	1, 393	18. 9
Cincinnati:							
1965–66	55, 922	33, 363	59. 7	22, 559	40. 3	11, 155	49. 4
1960–61	51, 030	33, 597	65. 8	17, 433	34. 2	10, 935	62. 7
1955–56	52, 351	39, 547	75. 5	12, 804	24. 5	4, 922	38. 4
1950–51	40, 038	30, 973	77. 3	9, 110	22. 7	3, 981	43. 7
Cleveland:							
1962–63	92, 395	42, 564	46. 1	49, 831	53. 9	41, 034	82. 3
1952–53	70, 614	49, 075	69. 5	21, 539	30. 5	12, 369	57. 4
Columbus:							
1965–66	66, 215	48, 913	73.9	17, 302	26.1	5, 933	34.3
1960–61	56, 624	42, 511	75.1	14, 113	24.9	3, 235	22.9
1955–56	39, 341	32, 189	81.8	7, 152	18.2	2, 677	37.4
1950–51	29, 839	25, 005	83.8	4, 834	16.2	1, 666	34.5
Oregon—							
Portland:							
1965–66	54, 717	50, 235	91.8	4, 482	8.2	2, 085	46.5
1964–65	55, 246	51, 012	92.3	4, 234	7.7	1, 548	36.6
1963–64	54, 747	50, 902	93.0	3, 845	7.0	1, 227	31.9

Southern, border and Northern States, elementary schools—Continued

Increase or decrease in Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro; earliest year to latest year		Negro students in majority Negro schools		White students in schools 90 to 100 percent white		Increase or decrease white students in schools 90 to 100 percent white; earliest year to latest year	
Number	Percent increase or decrease	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total white elementary students	Number	Percent increase or decrease
15, 263	24. 5	98, 274	91. 5	55, 395	65. 0	−25, 220	−31. 3
----------	--------	84, 939	91. 1	80, 615	75. 4	----------	--------
5, 631	722. 8	8, 103	85. 9	15, 234	80. 0	2, 703	21. 6
----------	--------	6, 156	94. 9	16, 309	89. 3	----------	--------
----------	--------	3, 360	77. 4	15, 219	88. 4	----------	--------
----------	--------	1, 681	86. 5	12, 531	93. 1	----------	--------
6, 528	52. 8	33, 238	90. 3	4, 604	37. 1	−1, 159	−20. 1
----------	--------	24, 661	79. 9	4, 759	33. 2	----------	--------
----------	--------	21, 503	84. 8	5, 763	35. 9	----------	--------
----------	--------	1,869	74. 0	4,134	66. 5	−235	−5. 4
----------	--------	1,354	68. 9	4,369	63. 1	----------	--------
3,907	42. 5	15,097	88. 7	25,131	81. 1	5,930	30. 9
----------	--------	10,212	89. 4	19,201	85. 4	----------	--------
−667	−100. 0	1,679	50. 2	9,937	69. 7	−312	−3. 0
----------	--------	1,499	48. 4	11,178	76. 7	----------	--------
----------	--------	1,258	57. 5	10,249	80. 2	----------	--------
1,954	140. 3	5,568	68. 1	6,801	26. 6	−12,163	−64. 1
----------	--------	5,440	73. 8	18,964	74. 2	----------	--------
7,174	180. 2	19,868	88. 0	21,141	63. 3	−1,422	−6. 3
----------	--------	13,605	78. 0	24,520	73. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	9,566	74. 7	31,648	80. 1	----------	--------
----------	--------	6,442	70. 7	22,563	72. 8	----------	--------
28,665	231. 7	47,160	94. 6	34,175	80. 2	−5,501	−13. 9
----------	--------	18,174	84. 4	39,676	80. 9	----------	--------
4, 267	256. 1	13, 986	80. 8	37, 651	77. 0	18, 032	91. 9
----------	--------	10, 841	76. 8	31, 508	74. 1	----------	--------
----------	--------	4, 720	65. 9	26, 369	82. 0	----------	--------
----------	--------	3, 391	70. 2	19, 619	78. 5	----------	--------
858	69. 9	2, 653	59. 2	46, 223	92. 0	−688	−1. 5
----------	--------	2, 635	62. 3	46, 701	93. 3	----------	--------
----------	--------	2, 532	65. 8	46, 911	92. 2	----------	--------

TABLE A.3—*Growth of segregation in 40 school systems in*

State and city	Total elementary students	Total white students in elementary schools		Total Negro students in elementary schools		Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro	
		Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total elementary students	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students
NORTHERN—con.							
Pennsylvania—							
Chester:							
1965–66	6, 482	1, 990	30.7	4, 492	69.3	3, 499	77.9
1963–64	6, 311	2, 148	34.0	4, 163	66.0	2, 961	77.1
Harrisburg:							
1965–66	8, 208	4, 456	54.3	3, 752	45.7	2, 025	54.0
1963–64	8, 320	4, 702	56.5	3, 618	43.5	2, 103	58.1
Philadelphia:							
1965–66	156, 523	64, 829	41.4	91, 694	58.6	66, 052	72.0
1960–61	148, 464	71, 246	48.0	77, 218	52.0	60, 636	78.6
1950–51	139, 060	92, 324	66.4	46, 736	33.6	29, 555	63.2
Pittsburgh:							
1965–66	47, 363	28, 717	60.6	18, 646	39.4	9, 226	49.5
1957–58	44, 855	30, 244	67.4	14, 611	32.6	4, 996	34.2
1955–56	43, 699	30, 693	70.2	13, 006	29.8	4, 204	32.3
1950–51	43, 078	32, 449	75.3	10, 629	24.7	3, 226	30.4
Utah—							
Salt Lake City:							
1965–66	22, 066	19, 893	90.2	361	1.6	-------	-------
1960–61	25, 324	23, 557	93.0	268	1.1	-------	-------
Washington—							
Seattle:							
1964–65	50, 628	42, 053	83.0	5, 318	10.5	525	9.9
1962–63	54, 455	46, 407	85.2	4, 960	9.1	576	11.6
1957–58	57, 915	51, 861	89.5	3, 569	6.2	-------	0.0
Wisconsin—							
Milwaukee:							
1965–66	75, 033	55, 230	73.6	19, 803	26.4	14, 344	72.4
1960–61[1]	66, 423	53, 716	80.9	12, 707	19.1	8, 559	67.4
1950–51[1]	43, 487	40, 916	94.1	2, 571	5.9	1, 316	51.2

[1] Estimated figures based on census and school enrollment data.

Southern, border and Northern States, elementary schools—Continued

Increase or decrease in Negro students in schools 90 to 100 percent Negro; earliest year to latest year		Negro students in majority Negro schools		White students in schools 90 to 100 percent white		Increase or decrease white students in schools 90 to 100 percent white; earliest year to latest year	
Number	Percent increase or decrease	Number	Percent of total Negro elementary students	Number	Percent of total white elementary students	Number	Percent increase or decrease
538	18. 2	4, 001	89. 1	755	37. 9	356	89. 2
--------	--------	3, 573	85. 8	399	18. 6	--------	--------
−78	−3. 7	3, 048	81. 3	2, 505	56. 2	−109	−4. 2
--------	--------	2, 994	82. 7	2, 614	55. 6	--------	--------
36, 497	123. 5	82, 704	90. 2	37, 370	57. 7	−34, 356	−47. 9
--------	--------	53, 820	75. 5	70, 619	91. 5	--------	--------
--------	--------	39, 633	84. 8	71, 726	77. 5	--------	--------
6, 000	186.0	15, 428	82.8	17, 883	62.3	−1, 560	−8. 0
--------	--------	10, 736	73.5	19, 924	65.9	--------	--------
--------	--------	9, 338	72.1	19, 387	63.1	--------	--------
--------	--------	5, 408	51.0	19, 443	59.9	--------	--------
--------	--------	--------	--------	19, 212	96.6	−3, 708	−16. 2
--------	--------	--------	--------	22, 920	97.3	--------	--------
525	--------	3, 212	60.4	37, 751	89.8	−10, 295	−21. 4
--------	--------	3, 207	64.6	43, 128	92.9	--------	--------
--------	--------	2, 110	59.1	48, 046	92.6	--------	--------
13, 028	990.0	17, 204	86.8	47, 648	86.3	9, 752	25. 7
--------	--------	10, 990	86.5	49, 743	92.6	--------	--------
--------	--------	1, 716	66.8	37, 896	92.6	--------	--------

Appendix B

TABULATIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF CITY AND SUBURBAN SCHOOLS [1]

The tables which follow show selected characteristics of school, students, and teaching staffs in schools located in the central city and surrounding districts or census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The information is from the *Equality of Educational Opportunity* survey conducted in the fall, 1965, by the U.S. Office of Education.[2]

Because of the disproportionate sampling under the design for the survey, these estimates are developed with inflation factors, or weights, which take into account the character of the sample within each region.[3]

The States included in each of these regions are as follows:

Northeast: Connecticut, Delaware, Washington, D.C., Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Great Lakes: Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

Plains: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

Southeast: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Far West: Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

The nonresponse was most severe in large metropolitan areas, and especially in the central cities of metropolitan areas in the Great Lakes, the Plains, and the Southwest regions. The estimates in these regions are, therefore, most subject to bias.

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[1] These tables were prepared by James McPartland and Robert L. York, with the assistance and facilities of the Center for the Study of the Social Organization of Schools at the Johns Hopkins University.

[2] James S. Coleman and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Government Printing Office, 1966.

[3] *Id.* at 558.

Table 1.—*Characteristics of students reported by secondary school principals for schools located in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, by the regional location of the school, and whether the school is in the central city district* [1]

Characteristic	Region											
	Northeast		Great Lakes		Plains		Southeast		Southwest		Far West	
	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs
What best describes the pupils served by this school?												
Percent all children of professional and white-collar workers	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Percent mostly children of professional and white-collar workers	5.4	25.2	0	11.7	74.2	0	20.8	4	0	2.0	3.7	61.0
Percent children from a general cross-section of the community	55.0	60.2	67.5	63.7	22.8	88.3	68.0	65.0	85.7	91.4	92.9	28.2
Percent mostly children of factory and blue-collar workers	30.5	6.1	22.6	24.6	2.9	3.6	7.5	15.7	3.6	1.5	.7	5.2
Percent all children of factory and blue-collar workers	8.9	1.0	9.8	0	0	0	3.5	0	10.5	0	0	0
Percent children of rural families	0	6.2	0	0	0	7.7	0	18.7	0	4.9	2.4	5.5
What percentage of students this year are transferred from another school?----mean	6.8	3.8	6.0	4.1	6.3	2.4	2.9	4.4	11.0	5.2	12.1	6.4
What is the approximate percentage of all girls and boys who enter your tenth grade but drop out before graduation? (Exclude those who transfer to another school)	20.8	4.1	11.6	5.9	4.6	4.5	7.5	9.9	10.0	3.2	8.6	3.7

What proportion of your students are in the highest track or group?----mean----	12. 7	19. 5	15. 1	12. 0	15. 8	16. 2	11. 3	7. 7	14. 7	23. 5	4. 0	27. 2
What proportion of your students are in the lowest track or group?----mean----	22. 6	15. 7	13. 3	10. 7	5. 3	10. 5	12. 8	14. 6	20. 6	23. 5	4. 7	15. 6
What percent of students in the school go on to college?-----------mean----	34. 6	49. 2	28. 7	39. 8	66. 4	20. 8	40. 9	28. 8	46. 1	40. 0	40. 0	52. 2
For each of the following areas, indicate whether there are problems of discipline with the students in this school? Percent of these indicated:												
destruction of school property, impertinence, discourtesy to teachers, racial or ethnic conflict, serious problem of stealing, physical violence against teachers, narcotics or stimulants, drinking intoxicants------------	23. 2	12. 3	17. 5	12. 9	11. 2	16. 2	17. 8	20. 1	16. 1	8. 9	19. 8	14. 4
Number of school principals on which tabulations are based---------------------	36	50	21	32	6	9	30	42	12	18	12	15

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[1] The secondary schools included in these tabulations are only those with a twelfth grade.

TABLE 2.—*Characteristics of secondary schools as reported by the principals for schools located in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, by the regional location of the school, and whether the school is in the central city district*

Characteristic	Region											
	Northeast		Great Lakes		Plains		Southeast		Southwest		Far West	
	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs
What best describes the location of your school?												
Percent in a rural area	0	14.3	0	12.4	0	28.0	1.7	12.2	0	30.1	2.4	8.7
Percent in a small town	0	9.3	0	20.0	0	22.6	0.8	9.8	0	45.3	1.9	3.6
Percent in a city of 5,000 to 50,000	0	12.4	4.4	28.2	0	0	4.0	4.0	2.8	7.3	1.0	7.2
Percent in a residential suburb	0	58.9	0	28.1	0	49.3	19.6	53.5	6.9	9.9	1.9	62.9
Percent in an industrial suburb	0	2.8	0	9.8	0	0	23.4	2.7	0	0	0	3.2
Percent in a residential area of a larger city (over 50,000)	46.6	0.5	61.4	0	74.2	0	25.5	14.0	83.3	7.2	79.7	6.4
Percent in the inner part of a larger city (over 50,000)	53.3	1.6	34.1	1.3	25.7	0	24.7	3.6	6.9	0	13.0	7.8
Does your school have a room set aside as a centralized library?												
Percent yes	94.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	84.4	100.0	97.2	100.0	96.0	100.0	100.0
How many catalogued volumes are there in your school library?												
Mean	648	689	766	584	223	400	753	560	726	362	883	818
Volumes per student in school library, mean	3.6	6.8	4.3	5.5	1.4	3.8	5.7	3.7	4.8	4.7	8.5	6.2
Is space and equipment available for students to do laboratory work in biology?												
Percent yes	75.0	89.1	95.4	82.6	100.0	92.2	96.4	98.6	100.0	92.7	76.0	100.0

Percent courses are taught without laboratory	15. 1	10. 9	0	0	0	0	3. 5	1. 3	0	7. 2	0	0
Percent we offer no courses in biology	9. 7	0	4. 5	17. 3	0	7. 7	0	0	0	0	24. 0	0
Is space and equipment available for students to do laboratory work in chemistry?												
Percent yes	87. 6	100. 0	95. 4	87. 5	100. 0	92. 2	96. 4	99. 5	100. 0	67. 0	76. 0	100. 0
Percent courses are taught without laboratory	2. 7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7. 2	0	0
Percent we offer no courses in chemistry	9. 5	0	4. 5	12. 4	0	7. 7	3. 5	0. 4	0	25. 6	24. 0	0
Is space and equipment available for students to do laboratory work in physics?												
Percent yes	87. 3	100. 0	91. 0	86. 8	100. 0	88. 3	95. 6	78. 6	100. 0	57. 2	76. 0	97. 7
Percent courses are taught without laboratory	2. 4	0	4. 4	0	0	0	3. 5	3. 4	0	7. 2	0	2. 2
Percent we offer no courses in physics	10. 1	0	4. 5	13. 1	0	11. 6	0. 8	17. 9	0	35. 5	24. 0	0
Does your school have a foreign language laboratory with sound equipment?												
Percent yes with equipment installed in a fixed location	26. 0	76. 5	71. 2	22. 0	83. 0	12. 4	41. 9	25. 2	94. 9	27. 8	74. 1	76. 9
Percent yes with portable equipment	26. 7	3. 2	21. 7	38. 6	0	60. 6	9. 0	17. 4	0	20. 2	24. 0	6. 1
Percent courses are taught without laboratory	29. 4	18. 5	7. 0	26. 8	16. 9	15. 2	41. 9	48. 7	5. 0	21. 3	1. 8	16. 9
Percent we offer no courses in foreign language	17. 7	1. 6	0	12. 4	0	11. 6	7. 0	8. 5	0	30. 5	0	0
Pupils per room, mean	30. 7	22. 8	34. 2	19. 9	39. 1	25. 4	23. 8	47. 6	26. 3	26. 0	29. 5	27. 1
Pupils per teacher, mean	22. 2	19. 3	26. 4	21. 9	24. 5	25. 4	22. 8	34. 9	24. 1	20. 4	27. 2	24. 7
Number of school principals on which tabulations are based	36	50	21	32	6	9	30	42	12	18	12	15

TABLE 3.—*Average characteristics of secondary school teachers whose school is located in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, by geographic region of the school, and whether the school is within the central city school district* [1]

Characteristic	Region											
	Northeast		Great Lakes		Plains		Southeast		Southwest		Far West	
	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs
How old were you on your last birthday? (mean)	40. 4	35. 6	40. 2	35. 1	38. 6	30. 2	36. 8	33. 2	37. 9	34. 5	38. 2	36. 5
As of June 1965, what was the total number of years of full-time teaching experience you have had? (Consider counseling as teaching experience.) (mean)	12. 7	7. 1	13. 4	9. 6	12. 7	5. 6	10. 5	8. 2	10. 0	8. 3	11. 1	8. 9
As of June 1965, what was the number of years of full-time teaching experience you had in this school? (Consider counseling as teaching experience.) (mean)	8. 0	5. 2	9. 0	5. 8	8. 4	2. 9	6. 7	4. 5	5. 3	4. 5	6. 3	4. 5
What will be your total annual salary from this school system this year? (Estimate supplements for extra services by using supplements from last year.) (mean)	7,794	7,271	7,776	7,209	7,143	5,948	5,533	5,120	6,010	5,401	8,111	8,289
Verbal test score (number correct out of 30). (mean)	24. 9	24. 4	23. 8	25. 1	24. 8	24. 9	22. 4	22. 0	22. 5	24. 2	25. 2	25. 7
Number of teachers on which tabulations are based	2,550	2,199	1,071	1,115	400	143	851	816	378	327	801	745

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[1] In these tabulations, "secondary school teachers" are those teaching grades 9, 10, 11, or 12 in a school which includes the twelfth grade.

TABLE 4.—*Percent of secondary school teachers having different personal characteristics, for teachers in schools located in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas by the regional location of the school and whether the school is in the central city district*

Characteristic	Region											
	Northeast		Great Lakes		Plains		Southeast		Southwest		Far West	
	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs	City	Suburbs
Are you ________ (race)?												
Negro	9. 0	1. 7	9. 1	1. 5	8. 4	1. 1	44. 0	34. 4	35. 7	8. 2	4. 8	4. 4
White	88. 9	97. 1	90. 2	97. 8	90. 2	98. 7	55. 2	64. 7	62. 8	91. 4	93. 8	91. 6
American Indian	. 8	. 2	0	. 7	0	0	0	. 2	1. 3	0	. 3	. 5
Oriental	. 1	. 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	. 5	2. 6
Other	. 9	. 6	. 5	0	1. 2	. 1	. 6	. 6	0	. 2	. 4	. 7
Where have you spent most of your life?												
In this city, town or county	80. 9	36. 3	54. 7	26. 6	41. 6	16. 9	59. 3	35. 5	41. 7	22. 7	28. 0	16. 4
In this State, outside this city, town or county	8. 3	40. 4	23. 1	49. 0	26. 6	53. 2	25. 1	40. 9	38. 6	66. 9	26. 2	34. 2
In another State, in the United States	9. 2	21. 6	20. 7	23. 4	31. 6	28. 6	15. 1	23. 1	18. 9	9. 2	45. 0	47. 2
In Puerto Rico or another U.S. possession	. 1	. 1	. 1	0	0	0	. 2	. 2	0	1. 0	. 1	. 2
In Mexico	0	0	. 2	0	0	0	0	0	. 2	0	0	. 1
In Canada	. 2	. 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	. 7
In another country other than United States, Mexico, or Canada	. 9	1. 1	. 8	. 6	0	1. 2	0	. 2	. 2	0	. 5	. 9
How many years of school did your father complete?												
None or some grade school	21. 4	12. 3	17. 5	11. 5	13. 4	10. 5	13. 0	12. 0	13. 2	17. 5	10. 9	11. 0
Finished grade school	20. 0	20. 8	28. 3	27. 6	22. 6	19. 8	20. 1	15. 8	24. 7	21. 3	20. 6	24. 1
Some high school	16. 2	16. 8	13. 8	16. 2	14. 4	18. 6	21. 6	20. 2	18. 6	16. 1	13. 3	18. 0
Finished high school	12. 7	15. 7	13. 8	15. 2	16. 7	17. 7	17. 8	18. 5	15. 0	20. 8	15. 6	13. 2
Technical or business school after high	3. 6	6. 1	4. 6	5. 5	7. 6	3. 5	2. 7	5. 7	2. 9	3. 6	6. 8	4. 7
Some college, but less than 4 years	6. 1	8. 1	6. 1	9. 8	8. 6	7. 4	11. 2	10. 5	11. 2	10. 1	12. 8	9. 9
Graduated from a regular 4-year college	4. 3	6. 6	5. 0	4. 7	6. 1	6. 8	3. 6	5. 3	5. 4	2. 8	5. 4	6. 7
Attended graduate or professional school	8. 7	8. 8	5. 6	6. 6	8. 0	12. 4	7. 6	7. 9	2. 9	3. 7	10. 5	9. 0
Don't know	6. 5	4. 3	4. 8	2. 5	2. 2	2. 8	2. 0	3. 8	5. 8	3. 7	3. 6	2. 9
Number of teachers on which the tabulations are based	2, 550	2, 199	1, 071	1, 115	400	443	851	816	378	327	801	745

TABLE 5.—*Percent of secondary school teachers with different education and training, for teachers in schools located in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, by the regional location of the school, and whether the school is in the central city district*

Characteristic	Region											
	Northeast		Great Lakes		Plains		Southeast		Southwest		Far West	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
What is the highest earned college degree you hold? Do not report honorary degrees.												
No degree	3.1	0.6	3.7	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.4	1.1	2.0	1.3	0.3	0.4
A degree or diploma based on less than 4 years work	2.2	.7	.7	.5	0	.7	.7	1.4	.8	.7	0	.4
A bachelor's degree	43.9	52.4	47.1	56.8	50.2	74.9	71.9	77.4	65.1	67.8	49.6	59.2
A master's degree	44.5	41.3	43.9	39.4	47.4	21.6	24.4	18.7	30.4	30.1	41.9	35.4
Professional or specialist diploma (6th year)	5.1	4.2	3.9	2.0	1.1	1.5	1.2	1.0	1.4	0	7.0	3.6
A doctor's degree	1.0	.4	.5	.3	.6	0	1.2	.2	0	0	1.1	.7
What is the location of that institution (where you took most of undergraduate courses)?												
In this city, town, or county	59.6	17.0	28.8	7.9	27.0	8.4	30.3	17.2	16.4	13.4	9.6	11.9
In this State, but outside this city, town, or county	20.4	51.6	41.8	62.0	31.9	58.0	40.5	55.1	58.0	78.1	42.5	37.8
In another State in the United States	19.0	30.5	28.8	29.7	40.7	32.3	28.9	27.5	25.4	8.4	47.6	49.3
In Puerto Rico or another U.S. possession	.2	0	.3	0	.2	0	.1	0	0	0	.1	.2
In Mexico	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.1
In Canada	.1	.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.2
In a country other than United States, Mexico, or Canada	.4	.4	.1	0	0	1.2	.1	0	0	0	0	.2
Have you ever attended any summer institutes sponsored by the NSF or financially supported by the NDEA or by the 1965												

Table 6.—*Percent of secondary school teachers with certain attitudes about their profession and their school, for teachers in schools located in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, by the regional location of the school, and whether the school is in the central city district*

Characteristic	Region											
	Northeast		Great Lakes		Plains		Southeast		Southwest		Far West	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
Suppose you could go back in time and start college again in view of your present knowledge, would you enter the teaching profession?												
Definitely yes	45.5	41.5	34.2	40.5	39.7	45.5	37.1	41.2	43.6	46.9	43.5	49.1
Probably yes	30.1	32.7	33.1	35.5	29.7	30.1	32.8	36.2	25.8	31.9	29.9	33.7
Undecided	9.7	9.5	9.8	10.6	12.3	11.4	10.9	10.3	9.3	8.6	9.3	5.4
Probably no	9.9	11.2	15.3	10.2	14.5	7.5	12.5	8.9	14.0	6.5	11.3	7.7
Definitely no	4.7	4.8	7.4	3.0	3.6	5.4	6.3	3.2	7.0	5.8	5.8	3.9
If you could choose, would you be a faculty member in some school rather than this one?												
Yes	13.8	12.9	17.7	12.2	10.8	10.8	7.7	12.7	10.9	13.3	17.3	21.1
Maybe	29.3	38.7	31.8	43.5	36.0	50.6	32.8	39.8	34.6	30.9	35.2	39.6
No	56.8	48.3	50.4	44.2	53.1	38.5	59.3	47.4	54.4	55.6	47.4	39.2
What kind of high school would you most like to work in?												
(Answer even if you are not a high school teacher.)												
With strong emphasis on an academic school college preparation	47.7	48.5	28.6	34.3	50.2	40.0	51.4	52.6	38.7	51.9	37.8	34.3
A comprehensive school	34.9	39.5	39.4	54.7	40.1	51.9	30.0	32.1	36.7	33.8	49.5	55.7
A special curriculum school that is designed to serve the culturally disadvantaged	4.7	3.9	4.4	4.3	4.0	4.1	5.0	6.9	13.8	3.5	6.4	3.1
Vocational technical or trade school	8.0	4.8	25.4	4.7	3.9	2.1	9.4	5.3	9.4	8.4	3.6	5.4
Commercial or business school	4.4	3.1	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.6	3.7	3.0	1.1	2.3	2.5	1.3

Elementary and Secondary Education Act?												
None	87.1	84.4	88.2	85.3	84.6	86.6	85.2	84.8	84.0	81.0	83.2	83.2
1	7.4	7.8	5.3	7.5	7.8	7.8	8.5	10.9	11.6	14.6	8.6	7.5
2 or 3	3.5	5.6	4.8	5.0	4.6	5.5	4.3	3.4	3.1	3.1	7.6	7.1
4 or more	1.7	2.1	1.6	2.0	2.8	0	1.8	.6	1.2	1.1	.5	2.0
What type of State teaching certification do you have?												
Noncertified	11.3	4.3	0	.3	.1	0	.3	1.3	.3	1.2	.4	1.4
Temporary, provisional, or emergency certification	14.1	21.5	12.0	18.0	3.7	7.3	8.7	6.6	21.4	15.7	11.6	13.8
Regular certification, but less than the highest certification in this State	11.2	9.5	20.5	41.2	41.2	10.8	48.4	45.5	16.3	11.5	27.8	34.9
The highest certification offered in this State	63.3	64.5	67.3	40.3	54.9	81.8	42.3	46.5	61.9	71.5	60.1	49.8
Number of teachers on which tabulations are based	2,550	2,199	1,071	1,115	400	143	851	816	378	327	801	745

Overall, how would you rate students in your school on how hard they try in school?												
Excellent	9.2	6.9	2.2	5.2	11.9	.7	2.4	1.5	1.8	2.6	5.1	2.6
Good	30.3	36.1	25.2	38.8	53.9	27.6	30.4	19.5	29.0	27.2	34.9	23.8
Average	32.4	42.7	44.9	46.3	24.4	59.4	48.5	58.3	43.4	55.7	41.2	40.0
Fair	18.5	12.0	20.5	8.2	7.6	7.9	14.0	15.9	18.8	11.1	13.8	25.2
Poor	9.3	2.2	7.0	1.3	1.9	4.1	4.4	4.5	6.8	3.1	4.8	8.1
Overall, how would you rate the academic ability level of the students in this school?												
Excellent	8.3	9.7	2.9	5.3	15.2	.7	2.9	4.0	3.0	6.2	8.5	2.8
Good	31.4	40.7	29.4	44.4	56.2	37.7	33.1	29.1	33.9	29.1	33.0	26.4
Average	28.0	39.7	45.8	44.5	21.5	53.5	49.9	56.2	37.3	54.5	42.1	37.3
Fair	19.6	8.8	17.3	5.5	4.8	6.3	11.3	9.4	17.9	8.2	13.0	26.1
Poor	12.5	.8	4.4	.1	2.1	1.6	2.5	1.8	7.6	1.8	3.2	7.2
Number of teachers on which the tabulations are based	2, 550	2, 199	1, 071	1, 115	400	143	851	816	378	327	801	745

Appendix C

THE COMMISSION'S RESEARCH STRATEGY FOR COLLECTING DATA ON RACIAL ISOLATION AND EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

Introduction

Prior to the *Equal Educational Opportunity* survey, surprisingly little systematic research had been done on the consequences and correlates of racial isolation. Thus the Commission had only a fragmentary beginning upon which to build the present research. Accordingly, it chose a strategy appropriate to a ground-breaking rather than a final study. The strategy consists of a broad-gauged approach, with four diverse but interlocking efforts. This involved, first, more detailed analyses of the data from the *Equal Educational Opportunity* survey. The second approach focused intensively on secondary school students in Richmond, Calif. The third effort extended to recent high school graduates, and the fourth approach dealt with two broad surveys of both Negro and white adults. Each of these research efforts has its strengths and weaknesses, the complementary nature of which deserve discussion.

The reanalysis of the U.S. Office of Education survey has an obvious advantage: a large, reasonably representative sample of the Nation's public school children. Attention is focused especially upon the Metropolitan Northeast, where a fairly large number of both desegregated and segregated Negro and white children were tested, and their attitudes reported. Momentous as this survey is, however, it too has limitations: a heterogeneous sample that requires control of a wide range of factors. More important, the data are all from one year, and thus do not allow comparisons over time.

The second study attempts to correct in part for these limitations. It involves a collection of horizontal data on 4,077 high school students in the single school system of Richmond, Calif. Professor Alan Wilson, of the University of California at Berkeley, conducted this research for the Commission. His work allows testing over time, differences in the performance and attitudes of desegregated and segregated Negro children. What this work lacks in geographical scope and generality, it makes up for in depth and range of data.

The third set of data was made possible by a unique opportunity to re-locate and interview members of the 1965 graduating classes of the high schools of Oakland, Calif. A total of 403 Negro and white graduates were interviewed, a number that represents slightly more than 70 percent of all of the 1965 graduating seniors who had spent their entire 12-year educational careers in the Oakland schools. Conducted for the Commission by the Dumbarton Research Council of Menlo Park, Calif., this research provides the opportunity to obtain data on an unusually homogeneous group of young adults. Not only are all the members of this sample products of the same school system, but they are of approximately the same age, and they all still reside in Oakland. The small sample size and the focus upon just one city are the limitations of this work.

The final effort of the study aims at obtaining a broad sampling of information on both Negro and white adults in many parts of the country. In the first survey, a nationally representative sample of 1,400 white Americans was interviewed by the National Opinion Research Center, at the University of Chicago; in the second survey, an urban sample of 1,624 Negro Americans in the North and West was interviewed. In order to ensure enough Negro respondents who had experienced biracial schooling as children, the Negro sample was drawn in a special manner.

First, the South was excluded since school desegregation is a relatively recent phenomenon in this region. Second, only those persons 21 to 45 years of age were interviewed since the great majority of older Negroes—even in the urban North and West—were educated in the South. Third, smaller cities and middle-class Negro residential areas were both oversampled because prior school desegregation was generally greater for Negroes living there. Finally, the rural North was excluded because of the small number of Negroes involved. Within these constraints the sample represents a probability sample of this important segment of Negro America. The limitations of sample size and lack of depth in these surveys are compensated for by the breadth of coverage and the opportunity to trace into adulthood the correlates of racial isolation in the schools.

Appendix C 1

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY SURVEY

Overview

This appendix reports the further analyses of the data collected by the Office of Education in the survey conducted under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[1] Part of this further study was performed by James McPartland and Robert L. York, who served as consultants to the Commission. The programing and tabulations were performed at The Johns Hopkins University, under the auspices of the Center for the Study of the Social Organization of Schools. These appendices contain the principal tables which support discussion in Chapters III and IV relating to further analysis of the Educational Opportunities Survey data.

For the *Equality of Educational Opportunity* survey, information was obtained from nearly 600,000 students in a sample of over 4,000 schools throughout the Nation, in grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12. Information was also collected from teachers and principals in the same schools. The further analysis of the data treated only the 6th, 9th, and 12th grade students.

The principal focus of the further analyses was to determine if damage to Negro students was related to the racial composition of schools. In order to measure the size of possible differences, the further analyses were primarily based on cross-tabulations, or the comparison of characteristics of subgroups of students who experienced racially different schooling. Attempts also were made to discover some of the reasons for the differences which may appear.

1. There were three main measures of the racial character of a student's schooling: (a) the racial composition of his school (obtained either from the principal's report or from calculating the proportions in each school from the student reports of their own race); (b) the racial composition of his classroom (obtained from the student's report of the proportion of his classmates last year who were white);[2] and (c) the length of time in attendance in desegregated classes (obtained from the student's report of the earliest grade that he attended desegregated classes). Tables for (a) are in sections 2, 3, and 4 of the appendix; for (c) are in section 5. The classroom racial composition (b) is the principal variable in all the tables of the appendix: categories on this variable define the columns in each table.[3]

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[1] James S. Coleman and others, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, U.S. Office of Education, Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 737 pages.

[2] Since the survey was administered at the beginning of the school year, the characteristics of schools from the previous year would be of interest in investigating short-run effects. Only the question asked of students about the racial composition of their classroom was phrased in terms of the previous year. Checks were made on other relationships to see that student school mobility from the previous year did not affect the patterns. This was done by comparing results on the total 12th grade sample with a subsample which reported that "the last time they changed schools (not counting promotions from one school to another)" was less than 3 years ago.

[3] The values calculated on each subgroup of students in schools with the same racial enrollments are likely to be good estimates of the values in the population. Although the original sampling design assigned different probabilities of selection to schools according to the region, and the size of the metropolitan area in which it was located and its racial composition, the students within any particular category of "racial composition of the school" should be approximately equal in terms of their probability of selection. This is so since, within a given region, the joint probability that a particular metropolitan area and school of a given racial proportion be drawn is equal for all schools in the same racial category. The principal reasons why the chance of representation of students from different kinds of schools of the same racial composition would not be equal would result from the character of the nonresponse and severe differences in school size.

There were several dimensions of the outcomes of schooling on which the survey provided information. First, achievement test were administered to the students, and the scores on this test were used as a major measure of the outcome of schooling.[4] Also, several questionnaire items were directed at measuring attitudes which are likely to indicate the way students will behave in later life as adults. Several questions were asked about students' goals and plans for the future. Particular attention was given to plans for college. In addition, there were several items used to measure the degree to which a student felt that he could master his environment and achieve success through his own efforts. Finally, questions were asked about racial attitudes—the willingness of students to enter into interracial situations. In this appendix, sections 2, 4, and 5 deal with differences in achievement test scores; section 3 with college plans, and attitudes about the environment. Racial attitudes are treated in section 6.

Of course, these measures are only crude indicators of some of the dimensions of behavior that schools might affect. The several measures are also correlated with one another: students achieving at a high level are most likely to be planning college, to feel control over their environment, and to prefer desegregated situations. Because of this interrelationship it is very difficult, with survey data collected at one point in time, to establish the causal sequence of change. For example, whether changes in aspirations and feeling of powerlessness precede growth in academic achievement or the other way around, cannot easily be determined. Evidence from experimental research suggests a circular—or feedback—process, where changes in any one of the variables often result, in time, in changes in the others. Consequently, it is useful to think of all these outcomes of schools as a single unit.[5] When a relationship is established for one of the dimensions, a similar relationship can be expected for the others. This has implications for the present research strategy. While many of the tables in this appendix are duplicated for each of the outcome variables, in some cases only measures of differences in achievement-test performance are presented. This is particularly true for the many variables which were analyzed only to check that a relationship with racial composition of schools was not merely an artifact of some other differences among the students or their schools.

2. Many experiences outside and within the school affect these outcomes. Because the home backgrounds of students and the quality of a school's instructional program vary in a regular way with the racial composition of the school, the task of measuring the damage which can be assigned explicitly to racial isolation becomes greatly complicated. This analysis established as a requirement that before the effect of school desegregation could be measured, the other factors which affect student performance must be taken into account. A large number of the tables presented here are designed to serve as checks that relationships with the racial character of schooling are not the result of other differences among students and schools.

3. Finally, there were two principal concepts investigated to provide some understanding of why school desegregation may affect the behavior of students. The first derives from a major conclusion of the Office of Education report: The principal feature of schools which was found to account for variations in student achievement was the social class characteristics of the other students in the school. That report found that attending school with college-bound, high-achieving students was more important in

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[4] The scores reported are scale scores on the 60-item verbal achievement test used as the principal criterion in the Office of Education regression analyses. From this scale score can be determined the grade-level equivalent of a particular performance level, and the value in terms of a national test average of 50 with a standard deviation of 10. Grade level equivalents are determined (where the performance of white students in the Metropolitan Northeast is the norm) by the table on page 272 of the Office of Education survey (after subtracting a constant of 220 from the score). A crude rule of thumb is that a difference of 10 points on the scale score is equal to approximately 2 grade levels at the 12th grade, and 1½ at the 9th grade. To convert to the mean 50 score: at the 12th grade, subtract 220 from the scale score, multiply by .6254 and add 10.2571; at the 9th grade, subtract 220, multiply by .6539 and add 16.8845. For the Negro students in the North the scale score itself has a standard deviation of 14.52 for the 12th grade sample (possible range of variation is 242–323) and a standard deviation of 12.57 for the 9th grade sample (possible range of variation is 239–333).

[5] The relationship between these variables even may be more complicated. And this may be particularly true for Negro students with respect to college plans and aspirations; as is revealed in other appendices. See, for example, app. C2.

explaining higher student achievement than any characteristic of the schools' instructional program or staff.

The racial and social class composition of a student's classmates are strongly related in the Nation's public schools. There will be a strong association between the two factors because of the large and systematic social class disparities between Negro and white Americans. Thus, much of the effect of school desegregation may come from exposing Negro students to a more challenging and stimulating student environment—quite apart from the race of the students in the school. But the analysis also suggests that the racial composition of classrooms alone may affect Negro students' performance and attitudes. Tables are presented throughout the appendix, which test for a residual racial composition effect *after differences in the social class level of the school are taken into account*. Also, some study was made of the interracial processes within desegregated schools which may affect student performance. These tables are in section 6.

4. There also was an investigation of the differences in the performance of white students who have had racially different schooling. Tables from this study are in section 8.

The discussions to follow will be brief, dealing mainly with the technical issues which motivated certain of the tables.

1.1 Uncontrolled Relationships With Measures of Racial Isolation

The tables in section 2 present, for ninth-grade Negro students, the relationship between the racial composition of their classes and verbal achievement, and the relationship between the grade at which they first attended a desegregated class and verbal achievement. There are tables for each of eight regions of the country. The last five rows of each table present these relationships without taking into account any other characteristics of the students or their schools.[6] A relationship is evident between the classroom racial composition and academic performance in each of the regions. The positive association with earliest grade in desegregated classes and achievement can also be seen with the exception of the South and Southwest. In these tables, as in all others presented in the appendix, little interpretation can be given to values based on a small number of cases (the case size for all values is indicated in parentheses in the tables).

The remainder of the tables, which introduce control variables and explanatory variables, deal only with the Metropolitan Northeast region. It is this region where the overall response rate was highest,[7] where the major city school districts of the region were well represented,[8] and where a large sample of Negro children who had experienced desegregated schooling was available.

1.2 The Relationships After Selection Processes Are Taken Into Account

Since student academic performance is strongly influenced by their family experiences and early childhood environment, care must be taken to determine whether all of the differences between children in segregated and desegregated situations can be attributed to differences in family background. Several measures of this factor were collected for each student. The relationship between classroom racial proportions and achievement scores is shown for subgroups of Negro students who are similar on measures of parent's education (Tables 4.1–4.6), material possessions in the home (Table 4.7), reading material in the home (Table 4.8 and 4.10), parent's educational desires (Table 4.10), and parent's interest in education (Table 4.9). Reading across the rows labeled "Total" in the second column of these tables, the relationship of achievement with classroom racial composition remains strong for each of the subgroups similar in home background.[9]

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[6] In the Office of Education survey *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, corrections should be made in similar tables presented there. On pp. 31 and 332, the first entry in Table 21 and 3.3.1 should be 44.0 instead of 46.0. In addition, the sections of Tables 3.3.2, 3.3.4, and 3.3.5 (pp. 332 and 333), which have tabulations for the 12th grade, should be deleted. An error was made in the preparation of the survey materials for the question on the 1st grade which a student attended class with white pupils. Only three spots on the answer sheet were allowed for this five-response item. Although special instructions were sent to the schools by telegram at the time of survey administration and efforts were made to clean the returned answer sheets, investigation of this item suggests that the error left the item useless.

[7] See tables on pp. 566 and 567, Coleman, *op. cit.*

[8] In the Northeast, 9 of the 12 largest cities in the sample responded; in the Midwest, only 3 of the 9 largest cities responded.

The relationship between classroom racial composition and test performance is shown separately for 12th, 9th, and 6th grade Negro students (Tables 4.1–4.6). Also, in the Metropolitan Northeast, both the racial composition of the school and the classroom are investigated (Table 5.1 for the 12th grade, Table 5.2 for the 9th grade). Reading across the rows of these tables, there is a positive association of achievement scores with the racial composition of the classroom, no matter what the racial composition of the school may be. This suggests that the effects of school desegregation may be reduced reduced or eliminated if the classrooms within the school remain segregated.

All of the measures of family background used for these tables may miss the element of parental initiative and special outlooks that might cause some Negro parents to choose communities where the schools are desegregated. But parents can have much less influence on the classroom within a school to which their child is assigned. So the positive association of achievement with the racial composition of classrooms—within schools of the same racial proportions (Tables 5.1 and 5.2)—is some evidence against the belief that an additional family selection process is creating the relationship.

There is another selection process, however, which results in placing advantaged Negro children in desegregated classes. It is tracking or grouping children in classes on the basis of their achievement. In a desegregated school this practice may allow only advantaged Negro students to attend desegregated classes. Any attempt to study the degree of damage from racial isolation must check whether the observed differences are due to the placement of children in classes on the basis of prior achievement, rather than as a result of the students' experiences in desegregated classes.

The tables in section 5 deal with the practices of tracking and ability grouping. Tables 5.3 and 5.4 present, for 12th and 9th grade students, the relationship between racial composition of classroom and achievement, holding constant the percent white in the school and the students' track level. Investigations of the criteria for track level revealed that the criteria were similar for schools with the same percentage white enrollment.[10] The relationship between classroom racial proportions and achievement remains under these conditions. Table 5.5 and Table 5.6 impose additional controls. Besides track and percent white in school, students are also grouped in these tables according to their social class and the social class of the other students in their school. The original relationship remains for these.

Controlling for the track level is a particularly severe test of the damage of racially isolated classes, for there is evidence that a student's track level at the secondary grades is itself a result of the degree of racial isolation he experienced in the early grades. Table 5.7 shows the percent of students in the highest English track by the earliest grade the student attended a desegregated class. The students who first attended desegregated classes in the early grades are the most likely to be in the highest track in the 9th grade.[11] This, together with the fact that it is in the early elementary grades where tracking least frequently is found, suggests how racial isolation in the early grades may intensify the likelihood of a student attending segregated classes in secondary school. Desegregated elementary schools are least likely to have segregated classes within the school, and students from such schools—because of their early school growth—are less likely to be assigned to segregated groups in the later grades.

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[9] Each of these measures is a combination of several questionnaire items (the items used are listed in footnotes to the tables). The reason for not combining them further had to do with the character of nonresponse. The indices where the degree of variation was greatest (parental education and attitudes) were also those where the nonresponse was large. Nonresponse on these items was also concentrated with the poorest performing students, so that either the elimination of the nonresponding cases or the assignment of mean values to these cases may distort the comparisons. Other indices (such as those developed from the checklists of possessions in the home) do not discriminate as well among upper class students, but nonresponse is minimal. Indices based on parents' education and parental attitudes are probably best for the upper class students, while the values on the indices of possessions in the home used on the complete sample are the most appropriate for the students from poorer backgrounds. Tabulations using both kinds of measures together do not change the size or pattern of the differences.

[10] The average scores of students in a given track level in each school were compared. The largest proportion of variance in the average scores of students in high tracks was between schools with different racial enrollments rather than between schools with similar racial compositions.

[11] The principal departure from this trend is for students from a lower social class in a lower social class school. However, this is a case where the criteria for entry into the high track affects the results. Compare Table 2.1.

Section 3 presents tabulations of Negro students' aspirations and their attitudes about their chance to achieve success. Accompanying the upward trend in average achievement with increasing proportion of white classmates, the percent of Negro students who report they definitely plan to go to college also increases (Tables 3.1 and 3.2). The pattern for aspirations, however, is not nearly as regular as for achievement.

The aspirations of Negro children have been found, in other studies, often to be "unrealistic"—these plans are often more ambitious than the desires and plans of comparable white children, and the plans are frequently not realized.[12] Responses to this survey question about college plans may also often reflect desires rather than plans which will be fulfilled. It seems these factors were even more acute when both "probable" as well as "definite" college plans were tabulated; there were no regular relationships between college plans and the racial character of the schools.

Two questions were asked in the 12th grade about whether the student had taken any concrete steps to investigate particular colleges; whether he had read a college catalog, or contacted a college official. Differences in the percentages of students in segregated and predominantly white classrooms who report these activities are generally larger than the differences in frequency of the reports of definite college plans (Tables 3.3 and 3.4).

The Office of Education investigation revealed that certain student attitudes were more highly correlated with achievement level than any of the other characteristics of either a student's background or his school which were measured by the survey.[13] Particularly strong were the relationships with a student's feeling that he had power over his environment. Tables 3.5 through 3.8 show that there are regular differences in these attitudes between students in all-Negro and majority-white classes, and between students who first entered desegregated class in the early elementary grades and the others.

1.3 Relationships After Differences in School Quality Are Taken Into Account

It also is possible that the relationship of achievement to the racial character of schools only reflects differences in the quality of education in schools of different racial proportions.

Analyses performed for the Office of Education report suggest that these factors—differences in characteristics of the teachers, facilities, and programs of a school—are not as likely to underlie relationships with student performance as are differences in student backgrounds.[14] In section 7, tables are given which add variables measuring teacher and school characteristics to the previous tables showing the relationship between classroom racial composition and achievement, after social class is taken into account.

The original relationships, however, are not disturbed when these differences in instructional quality are taken into account.

The school quality variables which were used include both measures of specific characteristics of teachers and school programs, as well as composite indexes which incorporated several school quality measures. Section 1.5 describes the character of these measures and their relationship to student achievement.

1.4 Some Alternative Explanations for Damage From Racially Isolated Schooling

The Office of Education report gives a major reason why racially isolated schooling often will be damaging to Negro students. The analyses reported there showed that the social class and achievement level of the other students in the school were more important than the school's facilities and programs, or the attributes of the instructional staff, in explaining a given student's achievement. This was true after the family background characteristics of the individual student were taken into account.

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[12] Some examples of these studies are cited in Alan B. Wilson's report, Appendix C–3. Dr. David Armor studied these data, giving particular attention to student educational plans. His findings are reported in Appendix C–2.

[13] Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[14] These analyses show the relatively minor importance of facilities and teacher charateristics in accounting for differences in achievement after the student's family background has been taken into account, Coleman; *op. cit.*

The tables in this appendix also reveal the importance of the student environment of the school; segregated Negro students are most likely to be attending class with other students of a very low social class.[15] A comparison of the values in the total column of the tables shows the importance of the social class level of the school for individual student achievement when measured by: The average parents' education of the students in the school (Tables 4.1–4.4); the average material possessions in the homes of the students in the school (Tables 4.5–4.7); the average volume of reading material in the homes of all the students in the school (Table 4.8); the percent of students in the school who go on to college (Table 4.11); and the average achievement level of the student in the school (Table 4.13), and the average parental educational desires for the students in the school.

But there is evidence that the improved student environment—the social class level of the school—may not be the only source of benefit for Negro students in desegregated situations. There also is evidence that the racial composition, as distinguished from the social class composition of the school, has an important influence.

There are two sources of evidence for this: First, when students from similar backgrounds in schools with similar social class enrollments are compared, there appears to be an independent residual relationship between the racial composition of the classroom and achievement. Second, there is evidence from several sources that interracial processes within a school affect the behavior and attitudes of Negro students.

Residual Racial Composition Effect:

All tables in the first five sections of this appendix allow comparisons of average achievement levels in racially isolated and racially desegregated classes for subgroups of students whose individual and school social class characteristics are similar. Reading across the rows of these tables—holding constant the social class of the student and his school—there remains an upward trend in average achievement level as the proportion of white classmates increases.

To establish this residual or independent effect of classroom racial composition, the character of the measure used for school student environment is crucial: the measure must adequately divide the population into subgroups which are homogeneous in terms of the social class of their school, and similar values on the measure must have equivalent meanings for students in racially different situations. Measures which satisfy one of these requirements may be judged weak on the other.

In Tables 4.1–4.4, the student environment of the school is measured by the average parents' education of all the students in the school. Table 4.3 divides the population into four subgroups on this variable and seven subgroups on a measure of the education of each student's own parents. The first is a measure of the social class of the school and the second is a measure of the social class of the individual student. With this number of subgroups, the range of variation remaining within any group on the two measures of social class is restricted.

But the same value on this index of parents' education may have a different meaning for white and Negro children, and thus for majority Negro and majority white schools. For example, Figure 1 in Chapter III shows that there is a large difference in verbal achievement of 12th grade Negro and white children whose parents have the same amount of education. Although the educational level of the parents of all the students in a Negro school may be the same as for a white school, the student environment of the two schools would be systematically quite different, favoring the majority white school.

Therefore, it was important that other measures of the student environment of the school be used, and that they be such that similar values would most likely be equivalent across racial lines.

Table 4.11 used the percent of the students who go on to college as a measure of the student environment, in addition to the average parents' education of the students in the school. In Table 4.12, the school average of the desires of parents for their child's education is used as student environment measures. In Table 4.13, the average verbal achievement of all the students in the school is used to measure the student environment of the school. In all these cases, there remains a strong association between the average achievement of individual Negro students and the proportion of their classmates who are white.

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[15] Weighted estimates of the characteristics of the fellow students of white and Negro students show large consistent differences. Coleman, *op. cit.*, sec. 2.3.

All of these tables, and particularly the last mentioned, strongly suggest that beyond the student composition of the school, the characteristics of the other students in the *class* has an influence on the preformance of Negro students. This is because the tables present the racial proportions of the classroom together with the social class level of the school. Holding constant the social class compositions of the schools with a number of measures does not affect the relationship between the racial composition of the class and achievement.[16] The tables suggest that no matter what the student composition of the school, the characteristic of the other students in the *class* is strongly related to a student's academic performance. And to the extent that these school measures adequately separate students into subgroups where the social class of their fellow students is alike, the residual relationship between racial composition of classmates and achievement can be attributed to racial desegregation in contrast to social class desegregation.

The residual relationship would be more convincing evidence for the independent effect of racial desegregation if groups could be composed where the social class level of the other students in their *classroom* was the same. A method was devised to measure the social class level of a particular students' fellow *classmates*. In each school a separate average on parents' education was calculated for each group of students who reported that the proportion of their classmates who were white was: none, less than half, about half, more than half. The average was then associated with each Negro student who reported the same proportion of white classmates. The results are presented in Table 4.14 and 4.15. In Table 4.14, comparisons are made for students matched both on their own social class, and on the social class of the others in their classroom. In Table 4.15, the subgroups compared are similar on the individual student's social class, and both the classroom and the school social class composition. In both tables there is evidence of the effect of the classroom social class level, *and an independent residual relationship between racial composition of the class and achievement*. This residual relationship is evidence for the effect of racial desegregation, *per se*, apart from differences in the social class of the students in the class.

The Office of Education regression analyses did not reveal a very large residual relation between racial composition and achievement after differences in the social class composition of classmates had been taken into account. The result was stated:

"The higher achievement of all racial and ethnic groups in schools with greater proportions of white students is largely, perhaps wholly, related to effects associated with the student body's educational background and aspirations. This means that the apparent beneficial effect of a student body with a high proportion of white students comes not from racial composition per se, but from the better educational background and higher educational aspirations that are, on the average found among white students."[16a]

There are a number of reasons which may underlie the inconsistency of the two analyses.

1. It is possible that the sample used in the regression analyses did not allow an adequate test of the importance of school racial composition on Negro student performance, independent of the social class of the school. The goal of this analysis was to assess the relative importance of the characteristics of schooling which *typically* affect public school students. Accordingly, representative subsamples of Negro and white students were analyzed. This representative sample of Negro students analyzed was severely clustered in segregated situations, and the social class composition and racial composition of the schools was thus largely confounded—the schools which are desegregated have typically a higher social class enrollment than all-Negro schools. The summary statistics being analyzed (multiple correlation coefficients), are strongly influenced by both this clustering and by the confounding. The confounding limits the possibility of distinguishing the effects of one variable from the other. With the clustering, the relationships in the region where the sample is concentrated may loom large in the final statistic. When the question is studied by a comparison of subgroups from the entire survey sample, the result is not as affected by these problems. The large sample often included the important untypical cases with sufficient frequency to allow reliable estimates. The difficulty which then arises is to adequately define comparable subgroups which are homogeneous on the variable which is to be held constant.

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[16] This is not true in Grade 6, except for higher social class students.

[16a] Coleman, at 307.

2. The tables examined for this report suggest that *it is in the classroom within the school where the characteristics of the fellow-students have their effects.* The regression analysis on the other hand only dealt with schoolwide student compositions.[17] Thus it did not take into account the fact that Negro students in segregated classrooms apparently do not derive any benefit from attending majority white schools.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 compare Negro students classified by both the racial composition of their school and their class. Reading across the rows of these tables, no matter what the racial enrollments of the school, there exists a positive association of the proportion white in the class and average achievement. But reading down the columns—comparing students in racially similar classes who attend schools with different proportions of white students enrolled—a peculiar pattern is seen. For Negro students in mostly white classes an upward trend exists for average test scores as the percent white in the school increases. But, the trend is opposite for the students in segregated classes: the highest average score is for the students who are also in a segregated school. (This pattern is true where some controls are used for both the social class of the students and the social class level of the other students in the school.)[18] Part of this pattern may result from differences in classroom social class.

But the stigma of inferiority from separate treatment of Negro students is another possible reason for this trend with students in segregated classes. These students are attending a predominantly white school and are accorded separate treatment, with others of their race, in a way which is obvious to them as they travel through the school to their classes. This separate treatment may have consequences for the students' achievement.

Such possibilities suggest the need for a different line of discussion. Rather than presenting tables which show a residual relationship between racial composition and student performance, it is necessary to explore possible interracial processes affecting Negro student performance and attitudes.

Interracial Conditions Within Desegregated Schools:

Measures of social acceptance between the races are used at both the school level and for individual students. Each teacher in the school was asked "Yes? or No? Does the following constitute a problem in your school: The different races or ethnic groups don't get along." The percent answering "yes" was used as a measure of interracial tension. Also, both white and Negro students were asked the racial proportions of their close friends. For individual Negro students, only those with close Negro friends can be compared to the others. The tables using these variables, found in section 6, compare students in both segregated and in desegregated classrooms. It is for the students in desegregated classes that attention will be focused (column IV in the tables).

Negro student achievement and attitudes in desegregated classes are related to the degree of interracial tension within the school. Tables 6.1–6.3 show the association with average achievement, college plans, and the sense of mastery over the environment. There is also evidence that one source of tension in desegregated schools is the students' limited experience with interracial situations. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 suggest that the degree of interracial tension in a school is a function of the length of time the students have experienced desegregated schooling.

Whether a Negro student in a desegregated school has close friendships among the white students is one measure of whether he is "integrated" into the informal activities and associations of the school. For example, Negro students who participate in extracurricular activities are also more likely to be the students who have interracial friendships (Table 6.10).

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[17] In fact, the regression analysis would have been incapable of distinguishing school from classroom effects with the representative sample being studied. Percent white in school and proportion white classmates were completely confounded. In the northern Negro sample the correlation between these variables was .9825 in the 12th grade and .9692 in the 9th grade.

[18] Such interactions ordinarily are not revealed in a regression analysis. In the case of the 9th grade: (Table 5.2) although there remains a positive association with school racial composition for the students in mostly white classes, the overall relationship with percent white in school largely disappears when the social class level of the school is controlled (total column). A regression analysis on this sample would ordinarily only reveal the latter fact.

Tables 6.9 and 6.10 show that the Negro students in desegregated situations who have close white friends are somewhat higher in average academic performance, in college aspirations, and in their feeling of environment control. But having a white friend is most dramatic when associated with attitudes about interracial situations; students who have a close white friend are much less likely to express a preference for segregated situations and associations than those whose only close friends are Negroes (Tables 6.7–6.9). This difference is true no matter what the racial composition of the student's classroom, but it is the Negro students in desegregated classes who are most likely to have close white friends (Table 6.11).

These differences in racial attitudes are the clearest evidence that there is indeed an effect of desegregated schooling which results from the racial composition of the classroom, apart from the changes in social class level of the fellow students which often accompanies desegregation. The differences seem to be well explained by the racial associations of the student, which are much more a function of the racial composition of the classroom than either the student's social class or the social class level of the school.[19]

1.5 The Relationship of School Characteristics to Student Performance

This section concerns the nature of the relationships between various measures of school quality (including school facilities, curricula, and teacher factors) and the performance of Negro students. What school characteristics are associated with favorable educational outcomes (high verbal achievement test scores and definite plans to attend college), and what is the nature of these relationships?

The problem of the confounding of variables is serious. For example, students with more highly educated teachers achieve higher than those with less educated teachers. There is, however, the possibility that schools with such teachers are also schools which usually have some other characteristic with an important relationship to student achievement. In these cases it would be impossible to distinguish which characteristic was the effective one. What may appear to be an important teacher variable may merely be the result of other variables with which it is related. This problem is somewhat reduced by the use of student and school social class controls, because many school quality variables are closely related to these variables. Operating in this way, however, is conservative, in that much of the confounded variation is held constant and only relationships within the subgroups will be revealed.

The relationships between school characteristics and achievement of Negroes can be examined by reading down the columns in the tables in section 7.0. This will contrast students similar on family background, school social class and racial composition of classmates, but different on quality of school attended. When possible, comparisons with the Office of Education survey findings will be made.[20]

School Facilities and Curricula

The Survey found school facilities and curricula factors to be less related to the achievement of Negroes than other factors, including student family background, student environment, and teacher characteristics.[21] The appropriate tables for the present analysis appear in section 7.1–7.7. This analysis did not show strong and consistent relationships between school facility and curricula measures and the achievement of Negro students. It is important to temper this conclusion with the statement that it is based upon schools as they now exist; there are important but not extremely large differences between schools on facility and curricula measures.

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[19] Some of the experiments on Negro subjects in interracial situations provide a social-psychological model for how behavior may be affected by classroom desegregation. These are described in Irwin Katz, "Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes," *American Psychologist*, June 1964.

[20] The Office of Education analysis was based upon multiple regression analysis. Some of the problems of this type of analysis have been discussed in earlier sections. An important matter to keep in mind is that the Survey findings are based upon subsamples of Grade 9 and Grade 12 Northern Negroes, while this analysis is based upon the entire sample of Negroes in these grades in the Metropolitan Northeast.

[21] Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

The present analysis found, as did the Survey, a positive relationship between the science laboratory measure and achievement.[22] Yet the relationship was not linear. Only the presence of all three types of laboratories showed a consistent relationship to achievement.[23] The Survey found a slight negative relationship of the comprehensive curriculum measure to achievement, when other facility and curricula variables were entered into the regression first. The present analysis found that Negro achievement is highest when school curriculum is of medium comprehensiveness. Also, the Survey found that the number of extracurricular activities has a moderate, positive relationship to achievement. However, the authors suggest that this relationship may be the result of a relatively high degree of association between extracurricular activities and other school characteristics. The present analysis shows that higher achievement was associated with intermediate numbers of extracurricular activities in schools.

Of the school facility and curricula measures that the Commission studied, only these three items were regularly and significantly related to achievement at grade 12. Recognizing the problems involved, these items were combined into an index.[24] Although the students do not consistently score higher the higher the index score of the school, this may in part be the result of small case sizes in many cells. However, note from Table 7.4 that students in the lowest quality schools average highest in their control group (i.e., social class, school average social class, and race of classmates controls), in only one of 18 cases.

Other school facility and curricula measures examined will be discussed briefly. The survey found a moderate and positive relationship between the presence of an accelerated curricula and achievement. The present analysis examined different degrees of availability of accelerated curricula, rather than the presence of any accelerated curriculum vs. none, and again the relationship was nonlinear at grade 9. However, there was no significant relationship at grade 12. Both the survey and the present analysis found a small negative relationship with library volumes per student. The survey found no relationship between pupil-teacher ratio and achievement in a preliminary analysis, so it was not included as a regression variable. The present analysis found a negative relationship which disappeared once the teacher quality index was introduced as an additional control, suggesting that more crowded schools may often be better in other more important ways. This was the only school facility and curricula finding that clearly was modified by the imposition of the teacher quality index. Finally, there was no regular relationship between the amount of homework expected of students, as reported by the principal, and student achievement.

Teacher Characteristics

Teacher characteristics showed more regular and plausible relationships to student achievement than school facilities and curricula. This is consistent with the conclusions of the Office of Education survey.[25] The appropriate tables for the present analysis appear in Section 7.8–7.30.

The teacher analysis here (as in the Survey), is based upon average values for all the teachers in several grades. Thus since individual students cannot be linked to individual teachers the possible impact of particular teachers upon particular students cannot be examined.[26]

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[22] For a description of the Survey findings of the relationship between these and other school facilities and curricula characteristics and achievement, see Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 312–16.

[23] The science laboratories measure consisted of the percent of three types of science laboratories (biology, chemistry, and physics) reported to be in the school.

[24] The three school facilities and curricula measures (science laboratories, extra curricular activities, and comprehensive curriculum) were recoded to adjust for the nonlinearity of the relationships. The index was constructed by adding the recoded responses and dividing by three. No index was constructed for grade 9 because only two school variables were found to be sufficiently related to achievement to justify being included in an index.

[25] Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[26] All teachers in each sample school were asked to complete teacher questionnaires. As was the case with the Office of Education survey, all teachers in a school who reported teaching any class in grades 9, 10, 11 or 12 were included in the teacher averages calculated for grade 12. For grade 9, all teachers who reported teaching any class in grades 7 through 12 were included. See Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

The survey and the Commission results show that the educational level of the faculty as measured by the highest degree earned, is positively related to the success of Negroes on the verbal achievement test, at both grades 9 and 12.[27] Another aspect of the education of teachers examined was their undergraduate major subject field. The survey regressions did not include this variable, but the present analysis found a relationship at both grades, favoring schools with higher percentages of teachers who were academic majors in college (English, mathematics, social science, etc., vs. elementary education, special education, home economics, etc.).

The present analysis found a favorable relationship between high expressed desire of the faculty to continue teaching in the current school and Negro achievement.

The survey found, at grade 12 but not at grade 9, a positive relationship between years teaching experience of the faculty and Negro students' achievement. The present analysis supports the grade 12 finding, but fails to find any straightforward relationship at grade 9.

These four variables (three at grade 9), all having an additive relationship with achievement, were combined to form an index.[28] For purposes of brevity this will be called a teacher quality index, but it must be emphasized that other variables could have been included as well. The results using this teacher quality index show (especially at grade 12) that students in schools with high teacher quality consistently have higher average achievement scores than those in schools with low teacher quality.

Teachers were asked to take a voluntary vocabulary test as part of the survey. The Office of Education found this variable to be related to the performance of Negro students on the verbal achievement test. The present analysis found this relationship to be somewhat more limited, at least at grade 12. There, teachers in the lowest four of five vocabulary score groups seem to have little or no effect on student performance. Only teachers in the highest group seem to have an effect on student performance. At grade 9 there was further differentiation between teachers in the lowest scoring group and the three intermediate groups, as well as the differentation of the highest scoring group.

The survey found a strong positive relationship between the social class origins of teachers (as measured by the amount of education of the teacher's mother) and Negro achievement. The survey found a fairly strong negative relationship between teachers' expressed preference for children from professional and white-collar families and achievement at grade 12, and a weak negative relationship at grade 9. The present findings suggest rather that the most favorable situation is a rough match between teachers' social origins and those of the student body. Similarly, a rough match between the teachers' preference for professionals and actual student socioeconomic position is most favorable.[29]

The survey did not examine the effects of the racial attitude items in the teacher questionnaire (attitude toward busing to achieve desegregation, toward preserving neighborhood schools, toward encouraging Negro students to enter integrated situations, and preferred racial composition of schools). The Commission analysis failed to find any consistent and strong relationships at the ninth grade. At grade 12 there is a tendency for Negro students in predominantly Negro classes to achieve higher with more liberal teachers, but for Negroes in predominately white classes to achieve higher with somewhat conservative (although generally not the most conservative) faculties. There is some evidence however, that this effect disappears for Negroes in predominately Negro classes when the teacher quality index is added as a control. All of this suggests that: (1) The relationships found in the Commission's analysis are confounded by other variables, (2) the measures of teacher attitudes were not valid and/or reliable, or (3) there is no relationship between the racial attitudes of teachers and the achievement of Negro students. Other research throws doubt on this last possibility.[30] The favorable relationship between teachers' desire to continue teaching in the current school and student achievement discussed earlier suggests that this may be a better measure of teachers' attitudes than their racial attitudes.

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[27] For a discussion of the survey findings of the relationship between this and other teacher characteristics and achievement, see Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 316–19.

[28] The teacher variables (average educational level, percent majoring in an academic subject, percent wanting to continue teaching in current school and (for grade 12) average years teaching experience) were converted to a common scale of 00–99. The index was constructed by adding the converted responses and dividing by the appropriate number (four for grade 12 and three for grade 9).

[29] As with teacher SES origin, the "match" explanation is generally best when comparisons are made with the school average social class for grade 12. However, for grade 9 the match explanation "fits" better with the social class of individual students.

In summary, the Commission analysis suggests that a variety of teacher characteristics are related to the verbal achievement of Negro students. These include teachers' education, type of college major, attitude toward continuing to teach in the current school, amount of teaching experience, social class origins, and preferred social class of students.

College Plans

The Commission conducted a limited examination of the relationship between teacher characteristics and students' reported plans to attend college. This was not done in the Office of Education Survey, so no comparisons of findings can be made. Student reports of definite plans to attend college next year is the dependent variable in the present analysis.

The relationships with college plans are similar to those for verbal achievement in many cases. These include teachers' educational level, type of college major, vocabulary test score, and social class origin. These relationships differ somewhat from those found for verbal achievement. The greatest deviation seems to be for teachers' education. At grade 12, the favorable effects of having more educated teachers are reversed in high social class school situations, except for Negroes in predominantly Negro classes. At grade 9, Negro students in low social class schools tend to have the highest rate of college plans if they have highly educated, but not the most educated, faculties.

The relationship between teacher "preference for professionals" and college plans was similar to that for achievement, but it is complicated by an interaction with race of classmates.

Relationships with desire of teachers to continue teaching in current school and years teaching experience are irregular within each grade, and inconsistent between grades. This is noteworthy since both of these items were sufficiently related to achievement to be included in teacher quality index.

1.6 Performance and Attitudes of White Students

A result of the Office of Education report which has a strong bearing on the possible effects of school desegregation on white students is the differential sensitivity to variations in school quality for low and high social class students. The conclusion reported there was that the students most affected by school differences in instructional quality and student environment are those who come to school least well prepared—the disadvantaged minority child. Conversely, variations in the characteristics of schooling account for a smaller fraction of achievement differences of white students, and especially those from the most educationally advantaged backgrounds.[31] The family background of students thus affects how receptive a student will be to changes in his schools. A student from a home which strongly supports his educational endeavors will not be expected to be very much affected by changes in his school.

The tables in section 8 deal with white students from the metropolitan Northeast. A small fraction of the white students are in predominantly Negro schools or predominantly Negro classes,[32] and comparison of these students with the others shows large differences in achievement scores and college plans (Tables 8.1–8).[33] But the differences in average achievement for students whose home environment vary are much larger than any differences among students attending racially different schools. There are no large and consistent differences among the other students who attend segregated and desegregated schools or classes. Also, the length of time since a white student first attended desegregated classes appears to have no relationship with average verbal achievement (Table 8.3).

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[30] The research conducted by Irwin Katz shows that the race and the attitudes of the tester are important variables in explaining the performance of Negro college students in experimental situations. This suggests that the race and the racial attitudes of teachers in nonexperimental classroom environments may well be related to the achievement of Negro students. See Katz's article in a forthcoming issue of *The International Journal of Psychology.*

[31] Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 297, 304, 317 and 318.

It is with the race-related attitudes of white students where the effects of attending interracial classes are most evident. Reading across the rows of Tables 8.8 and 8.9, there is a regular relationship between the length of time a student has attended desegregated classes, and his choice of desegregated situations. It is the students who have never attended desegregated class, or only recently attended such classes, who most frequently express a preference for all-white schools and associations (rows labeled "total" in Tables 8.8 and 8.9).

As with Negro students, the relationship between classroom racial proportions and racial attitudes is clarified by consideration of the race of white students' close friends. Table 8.10 shows that the white students who report having close Negro friends are much less likely to choose an all-white school. This is true no matter what the racial composition of the classroom, although the pattern of friendships itself is strongly related to the classroom racial composition (Table 8.11).

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[32] The weighted estimates of the racial composition of the schools attended by the average white student show this dramatically. See Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 6, 47–49.

[33] In all of the tables, the criterion for a residual difference is not so much whether a difference remains for the subgroups defined by test variables, as it is how much the uncontrolled differences are reduced.

2.0 TABULATIONS OF AVERAGE VERBAL ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR NINTH-GRADE NEGRO STUDENTS, IN EIGHT GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS

TABLE 2.1.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students, by earliest grade in desegregated class, parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, and proportion white classmates last year; for Metropolitan Northeast*[1]

Parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Earliest grade in class with whites	Proportion white classmates last year				
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	1, 2, or 3 (1)	255.66 (171)	260.71 (336)	259.81 (124)	263.25 (139)	259.90 (770)
		4, 5, or 6 (2)	255.14 (70)	256.14 (124)	257.84 (25)	258.17 (30)	256.20 (249)
		7, 8, or 9 (3)	255.48 (180)	256.64 (124)	256.44 (36)	261.38 (45)	256.63 (385)
		Never (4)	254.04 (68)				254.04 (68)
		Total (5)	255.29 (489)	258.88 (584)	258.89 (185)	262.14 (214)	258.16 (1,472)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1, 2, or 3 (6)	262.93 (76)	263.62 (103)	265.48 (65)	268.44 (97)	265.19 (341)
		4, 5, or 6 (7)	261.19 (43)	255.08 (25)	263.13 (15)	266.50 (30)	261.51 (113)
		7, 8, or 9 (8)	258.86 (37)	260.02 (53)	258.76 (29)	265.40 (37)	260.79 (156)
		Never (9)	258.24 (38)				258.24 (38)
		Total (10)	260.85 (194)	261.39 (181)	263.37 (109)	267.40 (164)	263.08 (648)
High school graduate or more (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	1, 2, or 3 (11)	257.33 (370)	260.33 (602)	261.20 (232)	263.57 (297)	260.37 (1,501)
		4, 5, or 6 (12)	255.48 (118)	257.25 (153)	258.26 (47)	259.19 (64)	257.15 (382)
		7, 8, or 9 (13)	256.07 (246)	255.06 (180)	254.95 (78)	256.84 (76)	255.71 (580)
		Never (14)	254.49 (114)				254.49 (114)
		Total (15)	256.32 (848)	258.81 (935)	259.45 (357)	261.76 (437)	258.58 (2,577)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1, 2, or 3 (16)	266.06 (250)	268.06 (266)	267.11 (146)	272.02 (286)	268.58 (948)
		4, 5, or 6 (17)	261.58 (111)	264.63 (76)	262.58 (41)	269.20 (74)	264.35 (302)
		7, 8, or 9 (18)	261.82 (91)	258.01 (100)	262.16 (58)	268.48 (90)	262.52 (339)
		Never (19)	260.14 (111)				260.14 (111)

		Total__(20)	263.32	(563)	265.20	(442)	265.18	(245)	270.85	(450)	266.07	(1,700)
Total		1, 2, or 3_(21)	260.01	(867)	262.26	(1,307)	262.91	(567)	267.04	(819)	262.92	(3,560)
		4, 5, or 6_(22)	258.11	(342)	258.22	(378)	260.13	(128)	263.88	(198)	259.47	(1,046)
		7, 8, or 9_(23)	257.01	(554)	256.71	(457)	257.85	(201)	263.16	(248)	258.08	(1,460)
		Never____(24)	256.72	(331)							256.72	(331)
		Total__(25)	258.38	(2,094)	260.36	(2,142)	261.38	(896)	265.79	(1,265)	260.93	(6,397)

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[1] This sample is drawn from the schools in the census-defined standard metropolitan statistical areas of the following States: Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Table 2.2.—*Average grade levels behind in verbal achievement*[1] *for 9th grade Negro students by earliest grade in desegregated class, parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Earliest grade in desegregated class with whites		Proportion white classmates last year				
				None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	1, 2, or 3	(1)	−3. 2 (171)	−2. 5 (336)	−2. 6 (124)	−2. 1 (139)	−2. 6
		4, 5, or 6	(2)	−3. 2 (70)	−3. 1 (124)	−2. 9 (25)	−2. 9 (30)	−3. 1
		7, 8, or 9	(3)	−3. 2 (180)	−3. 0 (124)	−3. 1 (36)	−2. 4 (45)	−3. 0
		Never	(4)	−3. 4 (68)				−3. 4
		Total	(5)	−3. 2 (489)	−2. 8 (584)	−2. 8 (185)	−2. 2 (214)	
	High school graduate or more.	1, 2, or 3	(6)	−2. 1 (76)	−2. 0 (103)	−1. 7 (65)	−1. 3 (97)	−1. 8
		4, 5, or 6	(7)	−2. 4 (43)	−3. 2 (25)	−2. 1 (15)	−1. 6 (30)	−2. 4
		7, 8, or 9	(8)	−2. 8 (37)	−2. 6 (53)	−2. 8 (29)	−1. 8 (37)	−2. 5
		Never	(9)	−2. 8 (38)				−2. 8
		Total	(10)	−2. 4 (194)	−2. 4 (181)	−2. 1 (109)	−1. 4 (164)	
High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate.	1, 2, or 3	(11)	−3. 0 (370)	−2. 5 (602)	−2. 4 (232)	−2. 0 (297)	−2. 5
		4, 5, or 6	(12)	−3. 2 (118)	−3. 0 (153)	−2. 8 (47)	−2. 7 (64)	−3. 0
		7, 8, or 9	(13)	−3. 1 (246)	−3. 2 (180)	−3. 3 (78)	−3. 0 (76)	−3. 2
		Never	(14)	−3. 3 (114)				−3. 3
		Total	(15)	−3. 1 (848)	−2. 8 (935)	−2. 7 (357)	−2. 3 (437)	
	High school graduate or more.	1, 2, or 3	(16)	−1. 6 (250)	−1. 3 (266)	−2. 6 (146)	−1. 8 (286)	−2. 3
		4, 5, or 6	(17)	−2. 3 (111)	−1. 9 (76)	−3. 2 (41)	−2. 2 (74)	−3. 0
		7, 8, or 9	(18)	−2. 3 (91)	−2. 9 (100)	−3. 3 (58)	−2. 4 (90)	−3. 2
		Never	(19)	−2. 6 (111)				−2. 6
		Total	(20)	−2. 1 (563)	−1. 8 (442)	−1. 8 (245)	−0. 9 (450)	

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[1] The standard used for grade level is the average achievement of white students in the Metropolitan Northeast.

TABLE 2.3.—*Average verbal achievement scores by mother's education, earliest grade in desegregated class, and proportion white classmates last year, for 9th grade Negro students in Metropolitan Midwest* [1]

Mother's education	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	1, 2, or 3 (1)	261.38 (197)	263.50 (223)	263.27 (86)	264.02 (114)	262.89 (620)
	4, 5, or 6 (2)	260.88 (72)	257.97 (61)	259.15 (20)	259.23 (35)	259.44 (188)
	7, 8, or 9 (3)	258.30 (64)	254.92 (48)	261.48 (27)	263.73 (33)	258.90 (172)
	Never (4)	262.38 (138)				262.38 (138)
	Total (5)	261.18 (471)	261.24 (332)	262.28 (133)	263.04 (182)	261.63 (1, 118)
High school graduate	1, 2, or 3 (6)	261.48 (162)	263.51 (216)	263.19 (75)	267.23 (121)	263.68 (574)
	4, 5, or 6 (7)	260.75 (73)	258.81 (47)	256.64 (25)	264.27 (30)	260.24 (175)
	7, 8, or 9 (8)	256.79 (43)	256.29 (45)	253.86 (14)	266.80 (35)	258.88 (137)
	Never (9)	262.00 (88)				262.00 (88)
	Total (10)	260.91 (366)	261.74 (308)	260.60 (114)	266.67 (186)	262.24 (974)
Post high school training or college.	1, 2, or 3 (11)	265.19 (69)	267.04 (100)	268.75 (36)	271.73 (48)	267.67 (253)
	4, 5, or 6 (12)	264.06 (35)	264.28 (14)	260.57 (7)	259.56 (16)	262.75 (72)
	7, 8, or 9 (13)	262.59 (27)	263.83 (18)	259.38 (8)	262.83 (18)	262.60 (71)
	Never (14)	267.45 (53)				267.45 (53)
	Total (15)	265.24 (184)	266.30 (132)	266.16 (51)	270.90 (82)	266.69 (449)
Total	1, 2, or 3 (16)	262.03 (428)	264.16 (539)	264.24 (197)	270.09 (283)	264.04 (1, 447)
	4, 5, or 6 (17)	261.45 (180)	256.02 (122)	258.13 (52)	261.16 (81)	260.31 (435)
	7, 8, or 9 (18)	258.68 (134)	256.92 (111)	258.96 (49)	264.79 (86)	258.58 (380)
	Never (19)	263.23 (279)				263.23 (279)
	Total (20)	261.81 (1, 021)	262.30 (772)	262.30 (298)	265.36 (400)	262.76 (2, 541)

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[1] This sample is drawn from the census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the following States: Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

TABLE 2.4.—*Average verbal achievement scores by mother's education, earliest grade in desegregated class, and proportion white classmates last year, for 9th grade Negro students in Metropolitan Southeast* [1]

Mother's education	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion white classmates: None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	1, 2, or 3 (1)	252. 60 (178)	250. 60 (10)	251. 10 (10)	259. 33 (12)	252. 78 (219)
	4, 5, or 6 (2)	253. 06 (98)	248. 00 (7)	242. 33 (3)	252. 33 (6)	252. 43 (114)
	7, 8, or 9 (3)	252. 91 (75)	263. 17 (6)	251. 08 (12)	261. 08 (13)	254. 28 (106)
	Never (4)	256. 57 (2, 122)				256. 57 (2, 122)
	Total (5)	256. 03 (2, 473)	253. 09 (23)	250. 04 (25)	257. 20 (40)	255. 96 (2, 561)
High-school graduate	1, 2, or 3 (6)	255. 42 (113)	251. 50 (4)	248. 60 (5)	260. 70 (20)	255. 81 (142)
	4, 5, or 6 (7)	252. 98 (63)		248. 00 (4)		252. 68 (67)
	7, 8, or 9 (8)	255. 96 (51)	250. 25 (4)	254. 71 (7)	262. 27 (22)	257. 24 (84)
	Never (9)	258. 62 (1, 197)				258. 62 (1, 197)
	Total (10)	258. 02 (1, 424)	250. 88 (3)	251. 12 (16)	261. 52 (42)	258. 01 (1, 490)
Post high school training or college.	1, 2, or 3 (11)	261. 02 (57)	266. 50 (4)	258. 33 (3)	261. 08 (13)	261. 21 (77)
	4, 5, or 6 (12)	260. 52 (33)		256. 50 (2)	265. 33 (6)	261. 03 (41)
	7, 8, or 9 (13)	264. 43 (30)	256. 00 (2)	242. 00 (1)	267. 07 (18)	264. 59 (51)
	Never (14)	263. 07 (501)				263. 07 (501)
	Total (15)	262. 81 (621)	263. 00 (6)	254. 98 (6)	264. 68 (37)	262. 84 (670)
Total	1, 2, or 3 (16)	254. 89 (348)	254. 33 (18)	251. 60 (18)	260. 26 (54)	255. 39 (438)
	4, 5, or 6 (17)	254. 30 (194)	248. 00 (7)	247. 99 (9)	258. 82 (12)	254. 09 (222)
	7, 8, or 9 (18)	256. 12 (156)	257. 67 (12)	251. 90 (20)	263. 61 (53)	257. 49 (241)
	Never (19)	258. 06 (3, 820)				258. 06 (3, 820)
	Total (20)	257. 59 (4, 518)	254. 22 (37)	251. 04 (47)	261. 61 (119)	257. 60 (4, 721)

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[1] This sample is drawn from the census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, in the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

TABLE 2.5.—*Average verbal achievement scores by mother's education, earliest grade in desegregated class, and proportion white classmates last year, for 9th grade Negro students in Metropolitan Southwest* [1]

Mother's education	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion of white classmates last year: None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half and all IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	1, 2, or 3 (1)	255. 24 (71)	249. 00 (3)	248. 80 (5)	255. 63 (8)	254. 69 (87)
	4, 5, or 6 (2)	255. 37 (38)	252. 00 (6)	257. 00 (4)	258. 20 (2)	255. 13 (50)
	7, 8, or 9 (3)	261. 68 (50)	260. 25 (4)	254. 25 (4)	256. 84 (13)	260. 29 (71)
	Never (4)	255. 02 (341)				255. 02 (341)
	Total (5)	255. 74 (500)	253. 85 (13)	253. 00 (13)	256. 68 (23)	255. 67 (549)
High school graduate	1, 2, or 3 (6)	257. 53 (62)	242. 00 (1)	245. 71 (7)	260. 69 (13)	256. 84 (83)
	4, 5, or 6 (7)	255. 36 (42)	257. 00 (1)	247. 00 (2)	249. 00 (5)	254. 42 (50)
	7, 8, or 9 (8)	258. 30 (64)	247. 00 (2)	261. 67 (9)	247. 50 (2)	258. 12 (77)
	Never (9)	256. 66 (218)				256. 66 (218)
	Total (10)	256. 93 (386)	248. 25 (4)	253. 83 (18)	256. 45 (20)	256. 70 (428)
Post high school training or college.	1, 2, or 3 (11)	259. 88 (34)	249. 00 (2)	253. 00 (4)	253. 67 (3)	258. 30 (43)
	4, 5, or 6 (12)	264. 36 (11)		249. 33 (3)	276. 33 (3)	263. 82 (17)
	7, 8, or 9 (13)	260. 24 (33)	269. 00 (1)	253. 00 (3)	265. 86 (7)	260. 84 (44)
	Never (14)	259. 69 (96)				259. 69 (96)
	Total (15)	260. 13 (174)	255. 67 (3)	251. 90 (10)	265. 46 (13)	260. 00 (200)
Total	1, 2, or 3 (16)	257. 03 (167)	247. 83 (6)	248. 50 (16)	258. 12 (24)	256. 26 (213)
	4, 5, or 6 (17)	256. 45 (91)	252. 71 (7)	252. 22 (9)	259. 04 (10)	256. 10 (117)
	7, 8, or 9 (18)	259. 88 (147)	257. 71 (7)	258. 19 (16)	258. 86 (22)	259. 54 (192)
	Never (19)	256. 25 (655)				256. 25 (655)
	Total (20)	256. 89 (1, 060)	253. 00 (20)	253. 10 (41)	258. 64 (56)	256. 78 (1, 117)

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[1] This sample was drawn from census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the following States: Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas.

TABLE 2.6.—*Average verbal achievement scores by mother's education, earliest grade in desegregated class, and proportion white classmates last year, for 9th-grade Negro students in Metropolitan Far West*[1]

Mother's education	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion of white classmates				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half and all IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	1, 2, or 3 (1)	260. 75 (68)	258. 77 (164)	259. 43 (53)	263. 83 (65)	260. 19 (350)
	4, 5, or 6 (2)	260. 41 (17)	257. 36 (25)	252. 07 (14)	258. 47 (17)	257. 31 (73)
	7, 8, or 9 (3)	253. 10 (21)	256. 11 (27)	254. 92 (12)	253. 59 (22)	254. 49 (82)
	Never (4)	263. 57 (7)				263. 57 (7)
	Total (5)	259. 45 (113)	258. 27 (216)	257. 44 (79)	260. 79 (104)	258. 91 (512)
High school graduate	1, 2, or 3 (6)	260. 14 (77)	262. 81 (184)	261. 73 (48)	264. 77 (82)	262. 56 (391)
	4, 5, or 6 (7)	258. 21 (14)	258. 58 (40)	255. 42 (12)	260. 77 (13)	258. 39 (79)
	7, 8, or 9 (8)	254. 48 (21)	256. 58 (28)	252. 25 (12)	256. 73 (19)	255. 45 (80)
	Never (9)	255. 00 (9)			255. 00 ----	255. 00 (9)
	Total (10)	258. 55 (121)	261. 46 (252)	259. 10 (72)	262. 97 (114)	260. 83 (559)
Post high school training or college.	1, 2, or 3 (11)	264. 74 (62)	262. 89 (151)	263. 49 (45)	264. 66 (62)	263. 69 (325)
	4, 5, or 6 (12)	256. 93 (14)	256. 58 (19)	251. 89 (9)	265. 00 (14)	258. 02 (56)
	7, 8, or 9 (13)	252. 67 (15)	256. 82 (17)	248. 00 (4)	263. 52 (17)	257. 13 (53)
	Never (14)	258. 00 (6)				258. 00 (6)
	Total (15)	261. 33 (97)	261. 70 (187)	260. 62 (58)	264. 51 (98)	262. 10 (440)
Total	1, 2, or 3 (16)	261. 72 (207)	261. 51 (499)	261. 44 (146)	264. 44 (209)	262. 13 (1, 066)
	4, 5, or 6 (17)	258. 64 (45)	257. 53 (84)	253. 17 (35)	261. 23 (44)	257. 91 (208)
	7, 8, or 9 (18)	253. 50 (57)	256. 46 (72)	252. 79 (28)	257. 53 (58)	255. 50 (215)
	Never (19)	258. 54 (22)				258. 54 (22)
	Total (20)	259. 67 (331)	260. 48 (655)	258. 89 (209)	262. 70 (311)	260. 55 (1, 511)

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[1] This sample was drawn from census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the following States: Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

TABLE 2.7.—*Average verbal achievement scores by mothers' education, earliest grade in desegregated class, and proportion white classmates last year, for 9th grade Negro students in non-Metropolitan North and West*[1]

Mother's education	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	1, 2 or 3 (1)	254.19 (43)	259.14 (7)	257.86 (1)	264.00 (64)	260.26 (115)
	4, 5 or 6 (2)	252.65 (17)	242.50 (2)	254.75 (4)	261.10 (19)	256.19 (42)
	7, 8 or 9 (3)	259.62 (76)	265.75 (4)	257.00 (2)	259.68 (22)	259.82 (104)
	Never (4)	254.63 (268)				254.63 (268)
	Total (5)	255.43 (404)	251.61 (13)	255.84 (7)	262.57 (105)	256.77 (529)
High school graduate	1, 2 or 3 (6)	257.00 (13)	278.50 (4)	257.17 (6)	268.87 (70)	266.87 (93)
	4, 5 or 6 (7)	254.33 (6)	280.00 (1)	252.50 (2)	265.89 (9)	261.33 (18)
	7, 8 or 9 (8)	258.47 (53)	272.00 (1)	264.00 (2)	265.37 (27)	261.01 (83)
	Never (9)	257.85 (88)				257.85 (88)
	Total (10)	257.85 (160)	277.67 (6)	257.60 (10)	267.72 (106)	261.97 (282)
Post high school training or college.	1, 2 or 3 (11)	259.14 (7)	268.25 (4)	277.00 (4)	273.47 (32)	271.19 (47)
	4, 5 or 6 (12)	261.00 (5)	265.50 (2)		267.20 (5)	264.33 (12)
	7, 8 or 9 (13)	261.78 (14)	250.00 (1)	272.50 (2)	271.20 (15)	266.50 (32)
	Never (14)	260.67 (24)				260.67 (24)
	Total (15)	260.80 (50)	264.86 (7)	275.50 (6)	272.21 (52)	266.97 (115)
Total	1, 2 or 3 (16)	255.32 (63)	266.73 (15)	264.44 (11)	267.88 (166)	264.69 (255)
	4, 5 or 6 (17)	254.50 (28)	259.20 (5)	254.00 (6)	263.33 (33)	258.83 (72)
	7, 8 or 9 (18)	259.41 (143)	264.17 (6)	264.50 (6)	264.78 (64)	261.25 (219)
	Never (19)	255.76 (380)				255.76 (380)
	Total (20)	256.50 (614)	261.19 (26)	261.73 (23)	266.55 (263)	259.62 (926)

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[1] This sample was drawn from counties outside of the census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the following States: Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wyoming.

TABLE 2.8.—*Average verbal achievement scores by mother's education, earliest grade in desegregated class, and proportion white classmates last year, for 9th grade Negro students in non-Metropolitan Southeast* [1]

Mother's education	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	1, 2 or 3 (1)	246.60 (454)	248.50 (14)	249.73 (15)	253.33 (33)	247.17 (516)
	4, 5 or 6 (2)	247.62 (117)	248.71 (7)	248.60 (15)	249.27 (22)	247.98 (161)
	7, 8 or 9 (3)	249.79 (267)	245.75 (16)	252.89 (9)	258.30 (66)	251.26 (358)
	Never (4)	251.73 (5, 080)	----------	----------	----------	251.73 (5, 080)
	Total (5)	251.17 (5, 918)	247.35 (37)	250.02 (39)	255.30 (121)	251.22 (6, 115)
High school graduate	1, 2 or 3 (6)	249.27 (108)	254.00 (6)	251.12 (8)	259.73 (26)	251.40 (148)
	4, 5 or 6 (7)	255.00 (59)	262.33 (3)	261.00 (5)	258.53 (19)	255.22 (86)
	7, 8 or 9 (8)	254.80 (93)	243.00 (3)	248.50 (4)	262.44 (39)	256.51 (139)
	Never (9)	254.62 (1, 158)	----------	----------	----------	254.62 (1, 158)
	Total (10)	254.24 (1, 418)	253.32 (12)	253.40 (17)	260.72 (84)	254.58 (1, 531)
Post high school training or college.	1, 2 or 3 (11)	255.52 (48)	255.00 (2)	252.80 (5)	259.50 (14)	256.11 (69)
	4, 5 or 6 (12)	249.95 (38)	259.33 (3)	----------	254.40 (5)	251.04 (46)
	7, 8 or 9 (13)	260.44 (27)	248.00 (4)	251.86 (7)	264.37 (19)	259.82 (57)
	Never (14)	258.86 (428)	----------	----------	----------	258.86 (428)
	Total (15)	258.02 (541)	253.32 (9)	252.25 (12)	261.26 (38)	258.04 (600)
Total	1, 2 or 3 (16)	247.77 (610)	250.59 (22)	250.68 (28)	256.05 (93)	248.87 (733)
	4, 5 or 6 (17)	250.07 (214)	254.30 (13)	251.70 (20)	253.65 (46)	250.59 (293)
	7, 8 or 9 (18)	251.70 (387)	245.78 (23)	251.65 (20)	260.53 (124)	253.46 (554)
	Never (19)	252.69 (6, 666)	----------	----------	----------	252.69 (6, 666)
	Total (20)	252.19 (7, 877)	249.51 (58)	251.26 (68)	258.11 (243)	252.34 (8, 246)

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[1] This sample was drawn from counties not in the census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

TABLE 2.9.—*Average verbal achievement scores by mother's education, earliest grade in desegregated class, and proportion white classmates last year, for 9th grade Negro students in non-Metropolitan Southwest* [1]

Mother's education	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	1, 2, or 3 (1)	254. 46 (48)	255. 50 (4)	263. 33 (3)	261. 63 (16)	256. 50 (71)
	4, 5, or 6 (2)	253. 36 (25)	248. 00 (1)		253. 67 (3)	253. 21 (29)
	7, 8, or 9 (3)	249. 09 (34)	246. 00 (3)	246. 50 (6)	252. 95 (19)	249. 87 (62)
	Never (4)	253. 75 (400)				253. 75 (400)
	Total (5)	253. 48 (507)	251. 00 (8)	252. 10 (9)	256. 66 (38)	253. 64 (562)
High school graduate	1, 2, or 3 (6)	253. 76 (38)	258. 33 (3)	257. 17 (6)	262. 00 (8)	255. 58 (55)
	4, 5, or 6 (7)	258. 38 (8)	246. 67 (3)	261. 00 (1)	266. 60 (5)	258. 88 (17)
	7, 8, or 9 (8)	254. 00 (22)	252. 00 (1)		261. 75 (8)	255. 94 (31)
	Never (9)	256. 21 (225)				256. 21 (225)
	Total (10)	255. 78 (293)	252. 43 (7)	257. 71 (7)	263. 00 (21)	256. 21 (328)
Post high school training or college.	1, 2, or 3 (11)	260. 31 (13)	278. 00 (1)	257. 50 (4)	274. 25 (12)	266. 10 (30)
	4, 5, or 6 (12)	251. 22 (9)	262. 00 (1)		261. 67 (3)	254. 45 (13)
	7, 8, or 9 (13)	262. 33 (12)	255. 00 (1)		255. 60 (5)	260. 05 (18)
	Never (14)	261. 98 (90)				261. 98 (90)
	Total (15)	261. 06 (124)	265. 00 (3)	257. 50 (4)	267. 70 (20)	261. 92 (151)
Total	1, 2, or 3 (16)	254. 96 (99)	259. 37 (8)	258. 69 (13)	265. 92 (36)	258. 03 (156)
	4, 5, or 6 (17)	253. 86 (42)	250. 00 (5)	261. 00 (1)	261. 73 (11)	255. 12 (59)
	7, 8, or 9 (18)	253. 02 (68)	249. 00 (5)	246. 50 (6)	255. 56 (32)	253. 22 (111)
	Never (19)	255. 56 (715)				255. 56 (715)
	Total (20)	255. 23 (924)	253. 89 (18)	255. 15 (20)	261. 14 (79)	255. 65 (1, 041)

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[1] The sample was drawn from counties not in the census-defined Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the following States: Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas.

3.0 TABULATIONS OF THE COLLEGE PLANS AND RELATED ACTIVITIES, AND THE ATTITUDES ABOUT POWER OVER THE ENVIRONMENT FOR NEGRO STUDENTS IN THE METROPOLITAN NORTHEAST

TABLE 3.1.—*Percent of 9th grade Negro students with definite plans to go to college by earliest grade in desegregated class, proportion white classmates last year, parents' education and average parents' education of students in his school; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education (social class of students)	School average: Parents' education (social class level of school)	Earliest grade in desegregated class with whites	Proportion white classmates last year				Total
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	V
Less than high school graduate (lower).	Less than high school graduate (lower).	1, 2, or 3 (1)	38 (171)	34 (336)	32 (124)	38 (139)	35 (770)
		4, 5, or 6 (2)	33 (70)	26 (124)	24 (25)	30 (30)	28 (249)
		7, 8, or 9 (3)	32 (180)	25 (124)	22 (36)	24 (45)	28 (385)
		Never (4)	34 (68)				34 (68)
		Total (5)	34 (489)	30 (584)	29 (185)	34 (214)	32 (1, 472)
	High school graduate or more (middle to upper).	1, 2, or 3 (6)	38 (76)	33 (103)	31 (65)	33 (97)	34 (341)
		4, 5, or 6 (7)	35 (43)	32 (25)	20 (15)	47 (30)	36 (113)
		7, 8, or 9 (8)	32 (37)	32 (53)	34 (29)	35 (37)	33 (156)
		Never (9)	18 (38)				18 (38)
		Total (10)	32 (194)	32 (181)	30 (109)	36 (164)	33 (648)
High school graduate or more (upper).	Less than high school graduate (lower).	1, 2, or 3 (11)	39 (370)	36 (602)	44 (232)	48 (297)	40 (1, 501)
		4, 5, or 6 (12)	33 (118)	36 (153)	36 (47)	41 (64)	36 (382)
		7, 8, or 9 (13)	41 (246)	28 (180)	40 (78)	43 (76)	37 (580)
		Never (14)	40 (114)				40 (114)
		Total (15)	39 (848)	34 (935)	42 (357)	46 (437)	39 (2, 577)
	High school graduate or more (middle to upper).	1, 2, or 3 (16)	56 (250)	53 (266)	51 (146)	58 (286)	55 (948)
		4, 5, or 6 (17)	48 (111)	55 (76)	39 (41)	54 (74)	50 (302)
		7, 8, or 9 (18)	55 (91)	34 (100)	50 (58)	54 (90)	48 (339)
		Never (19)	33 (111)				33 (111)
		Total (20)	50 (563)	49 (442)	49 (245)	56 (450)	51 (1, 700)

Table 3.2.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students with definite plans to go to college, by proportion white classmates last year, parents' education and average of parents' education of students in his school; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: Parents' education	Proportion white classmates			
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate	20.8 (53)	22.5 (129)	17.1 (105)	18.9 (127)
	High school graduate or more	18.4 (38)	12.5 (32)	32.5 (40)	23.5 (51)
	Total	19.8 (91)	20.5 (161)	21.3 (145)	20.2 (178)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate	16.7 (114)	17.1 (281)	17.2 (239)	24.8 (258)
	High school graduate or more	38.4 (73)	27.3 (99)	22.4 (147)	29.4 (163)
	Total	25.2 (187)	19.8 (380)	19.2 (386)	26.6 (421)
Completed high school	Less than high school graduate	18.2 (132)	17.5 (331)	21.7 (295)	33.4 (320)
	High school graduate or more	31.0 (87)	26.8 (127)	34.0 (141)	40.8 (179)
	Total	23.3 (219)	20.1 (458)	25.7 (436)	36.1 (499)
Post-high-school training or college.	Less than high school graduate	25.8 (31)	36.4 (88)	44.1 (93)	59.8 (112)
	High school graduate or more	60.6 (66)	61.7 (120)	60.0 (105)	76.1 (155)
	Total	49.5 (97)	51.0 (208)	52.5 (198)	69.3 (267)
	Total	27.6 (594)	25.4 (1,207)	27.6 (1,165)	38.0 (1,365)

Table 3.3.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students who have read a college catalog, by proportion white classmates last year, parents' education and average parents' education of the students in his school; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year			
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate	32.1 (53)	46.5 (129)	54.3 (105)	53.5 (127)
	High school graduate or more	47.4 (38)	50.0 (32)	57.5 (40)	68.6 (51)
	Total	38.5 (91)	47.2 (161)	55.2 (145)	57.8 (178)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate	36.8 (114)	50.5 (281)	48.1 (239)	59.7 (258)
	High school graduate or more	72.6 (73)	55.6 (99)	58.5 (147)	63.8 (163)
	Total	50.8 (187)	51.8 (380)	52.1 (386)	61.3 (421)
Completed high school	Less than high school graduate	40.1 (132)	48.0 (331)	45.8 (295)	62.2 (320)
	High school graduate or more	65.1 (86)	57.5 (127)	57.4 (141)	69.8 (179)
	Total	50.0 (218)	50.6 (458)	49.6 (436)	64.9 (499)
Post high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate	41.9 (31)	64.8 (88)	65.6 (93)	78.6 (112)
	High school graduate or more	77.3 (66)	80.8 (120)	82.9 (105)	90.3 (155)
	Total	66.0 (97)	74.0 (208)	74.8 (198)	85.4 (267)
	Total	51.0 (594)	54.7 (1,207)	55.4 (1,165)	66.7 (1,365)

TABLE 3.4.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students who have talked to a college official, by proportion white classmates last year, parents' education and average parents' education of students in his school; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year			
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate	13 (53)	29 (129)	30 (105)	24 (127)
	High school graduate or more	24 (38)	19 (32)	28 (40)	29 (51)
	Total	18 (91)	25 (161)	29 (145)	25 (178)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate	15 (114)	27 (281)	24 (239)	34 (258)
	High school graduate or more	25 (73)	23 (99)	24 (147)	29 (163)
	Total	19 (187)	26 (380)	24 (386)	32 (421)
Completed high school	Less than high school graduate	23 (132)	23 (331)	24 (295)	36 (320)
	High school graduate or more	29 (87)	23 (127)	33 (141)	38 (179)
	Total	25 (219)	23 (458)	27 (436)	37 (499)
Post high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate	26 (31)	27 (88)	52 (93)	59 (112)
	High school graduate or more	36 (66)	43 (120)	56 (105)	66 (155)
	Total	33 (97)	36 (208)	54 (198)	63 (267)
	Total	23.2 (594)	26.8 (1,207)	31.0 (1,165)	39.1 (1,365)

TABLE 3.5.—*Percent of 9th grade Negro students who disagree: "Good luck more important than hard work for success," by earliest grade in desegregated class, parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, and proportion white classmates last year, for Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: Parents' education (social class level of school)	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion white classmates last year				
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high-school (low).	1, 2, or 3 (1)	58 (146)	68 (298)	61 (114)	72 (122)	65 (680)
		4, 5, or 6 (2)	52 (59)	60 (104)	52 (21)	62 (26)	57 (210)
		7, 8, or 9 (3)	54 (158)	53 (103)	56 (32)	66 (38)	55 (331)
		Never (4)	48 (60)				48 (60)
		Total (5)	54 (423)	63 (505)	59 (167)	69 (186)	60 (1, 281)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1, 2, or 3 (6)	70 (73)	72 (92)	70 (61)	82 (92)	74 (308)
		4, 5, or 6 (7)	50 (36)	78 (18)	62 (13)	71 (28)	63 (95)
		7, 8, or 9 (8)	66 (32)	58 (45)	62 (26)	71 (31)	64 (134)
		Never (9)	47 (36)				47 (36)
		Total (10)	60 (177)	69 (155)	67 (100)	78 (151)	68 (573)
High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Less than high-school (low).	1, 2, or 3 (11)	54 (312)	65 (538)	67 (197)	65 (260)	63 (1, 307)
		4, 5, or 6 (12)	51 (100)	61 (127)	46 (44)	47 (55)	54 (326)
		7, 8, or 9 (13)	46 (209)	46 (147)	40 (68)	52 (67)	46 (491)
		Never (14)	40 (95)				40 (95)
		Total (15)	49 (716)	61 (812)	58 (309)	60 (382)	57 (2, 219)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1, 2, or 3 (16)	68 (228)	76 (241)	75 (139)	81 (273)	75 (881)
		4, 5, or 6 (17)	58 (105)	66 (70)	61 (36)	66 (70)	62 (281)
		7, 8, or 9 (18)	71 (83)	60 (88)	63 (51)	75 (81)	68 (303)
		Never (19)	59 (99)				59 (99)
		Total (20)	65 (515)	71 (399)	70 (226)	77 (424)	70 (1, 564)

TABLE 3.6.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students who disagree that "Good luck is more important than hard work for success," by parents' education, average parents' education of other students in the school, and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Proportion white classmates			
		None	Less than half	About half	More than half
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate	66.7 (45)	73.3 (90)	68.3 (101)	70.4 (27)
	High school graduate or more	62.8 (35)	87.7 (65)	73.1 (78)	93.6 (63)
	Total	65.0 (80)	79.3 (155)	70.4 (179)	86.6 (90)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate	73.3 (112)	73.4 (248)	70.1 (271)	77.0 (74)
	High school graduate or more	70.4 (27)	82.4 (85)	86.0 (114)	88.2 (110)
	Total	72.7 (139)	75.7 (333)	74.8 (385)	83.7 (184)
Completed high school	Less than high school graduate	70.6 (92)	73.1 (216)	69.6 (250)	83.5 (85)
	High school graduate or more	83.8 (37)	84.2 (133)	87.7 (122)	86.2 (94)
	Total	74.4 (129)	77.3 (349)	75.5 (372)	84.9 (179)
Post-high-school training or college.	Less than high school graduate	73.7 (118)	78.5 (242)	77.4 (288)	84.8 (105)
	High school graduate or more	70.8 (48)	85.1 (148)	81.4 (167)	90.7 (141)
	Total	72.7 (166)	81.0 (390)	79.9 (455)	88.2 (246)

TABLE 3.7.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students who disagree that "Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me," by parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate	44.4 (45)	54.6 (86)	47.4 (97)	55.6 (27)	50.2 (255)
	High school graduate or more	51.4 (35)	67.7 (65)	55.8 (77)	52.4 (61)	57.5 (238)
	Total	47.5 (80)	60.2 (151)	51.1 (174)	53.4 (88)	53.7 (493)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate	52.7 (110)	49.6 (242)	53.9 (267)	54.0 (74)	52.2 (693)
	High school graduate or more	46.2 (26)	64.7 (85)	56.6 (113)	68.5 (111)	61.8 (335)
	Total	51.5 (136)	53.5 (327)	54.7 (380)	62.7 (185)	55.3 (1,028)
Completed high-school.	Less than high school graduate	43.5 (92)	51.2 (211)	52.2 (249)	62.6 (83)	52.0 (635)
	High school graduate or more	52.8 (36)	56.7 (134)	64.2 (120)	65.6 (96)	60.9 (386)
	Total	46.1 (128)	53.3 (345)	56.1 (369)	64.2 (179)	55.4 (1,021)
Post-high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate	46.6 (118)	49.0 (241)	48.4 (285)	58.6 (104)	49.7 (748)
	High school graduate or more	47.9 (48)	58.8 (148)	55.7 (167)	74.5 (141)	61.1 (504)
	Total	47.0 (166)	52.7 (389)	51.1 (452)	67.8 (245)	54.3 (1,252)

Table 3.8.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students who disagree that "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life," by parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school and proportion white classmates last year, Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate (1)	68.3 (41)	60.5 (81)	72.3 (94)	66.7 (27)	67.1 (243)
	High school graduate or more (2)	54.3 (35)	75.0 (64)	68.5 (73)	80.3 (61)	71.2 (233)
	Total	61.9 (76)	66.9 (145)	70.6 (167)	76.1 (88)	69.1 (476)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate (3)	67.6 (108)	66.2 (237)	66.4 (265)	72.6 (73)	67.2 (683)
	High school graduate or more (4)	66.7 (24)	68.3 (82)	82.1 (112)	78.9 (109)	76.4 (327)
	Total	67.4 (132)	66.7 (319)	71.1 (377)	76.4 (182)	70.2 (1,010)
Completed high school.	Less than high school graduate (5)	54.5 (88)	66.2 (210)	65.5 (247)	71.1 (83)	64.9 (628)
	High school graduate or more (6)	77.1 (35)	68.7 (131)	76.5 (115)	76.3 (93)	73.8 (374)
	Total	60.9 (123)	67.2 (341)	69.0 (362)	73.8 (176)	68.2 (1,002)
Post high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate (7)	62.4 (117)	65.0 (243)	65.8 (284)	68.6 (102)	65.4 (746)
	High school graduate or more (8)	64.4 (45)	71.7 (145)	66.1 (165)	85.4 (137)	73.0 (492)
	Total	63.0 (162)	67.5 (388)	65.9 (449)	78.2 (239)	68.4 (1,238)

4.0 TABULATIONS OF AVERAGE VERBAL ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR NEGRO STUDENTS IN THE METROPOLITAN NORTHEAST GROUPED BY THEIR SOCIAL CLASS AND THE SOCIAL CLASS OF THEIR SCHOOL

TABLE 4.1.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students, by proportion white classmates last year, parents' education and average parents' education of the students in his schools; for Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate. (1)	263.62 (53)	269.20 (129)	268.88 (105)	271.52 (127)	269.12 (414)
	High school graduate or more. (2)	271.92 (38)	268.09 (32)	273.58 (40)	278.27 (51)	273.58 (161)
	Total (3)	267.08 (91)	268.98 (161)	270.18 (145)	273.50 (178)	270.38 (575)
Some high school	Less than high graduate. (4)	264.38 (114)	266.49 (281)	268.90 (240)	274.90 (258)	269.30 (893)
	High school graduate or more. (5)	274.34 (73)	272.79 (99)	275.00 (147)	279.18 (163)	275.86 (482)
	Total (6)	268.27 (187)	268.13 (380)	271.22 (387)	276.55 (421)	271.60 (1,375)
Completed high school.	Less than high school graduate. (7)	264.81 (132)	265.70 (331)	267.83 (295)	273.96 (320)	268.62 (1,078)
	High school graduate or more. (8)	273.22 (87)	273.66 (127)	274.84 (141)	280.46 (179)	276.18 (534)
	Total (9)	268.15 (219)	267.91 (458)	270.10 (436)	276.29 (499)	271.13 (1,612)
Post high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate. (10)	270.32 (31)	268.73 (87)	274.74 (93)	279.97 (112)	274.51 (323)
	High school graduate or more. (11)	282.91 (66)	283.31 (120)	281.84 (105)	288.70 (155)	284.78 (446)
	Total (12)	278.89 (97)	277.18 (207)	278.50 (198)	285.04 (267)	280.46 (769)
Total	(13)	269.78 (594)	269.71 (1,206)	271.91 (1,166)	277.72 (1,365)	272.84 (4,331)

TABLE 4.2.—*Average grades behind in verbal achievement*[1] *for 12th grade Negro students, by proportion white classmates last year, parents' education and average parents' education of the students in his school; for Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education		Proportion white classmates				
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate.	(1)	−5.0 (53)	−4.2 (129)	−4.2 (105)	−3.8 (127)	−4.2 (414)
	High school graduate or more.	(2)	−3.7 (38)	−4.3 (32)	−3.5 (40)	−2.7 (51)	−3.5 (161)
	Total	(3)	−4.5 (91)	−4.2 (161)	−4.0 (145)	−3.5 (178)	−4.0 (575)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate.	(4)	−4.9 (114)	−4.6 (281)	−4.2 (240)	−3.3 (258)	−4.1 (893)
	High school graduate or more.	(5)	−3.4 (73)	−3.6 (99)	−3.3 (147)	−2.4 (163)	−3.1 (482)
	Total	(6)	−4.3 (187)	−4.3 (380)	−3.8 (387)	−3.0 (421)	−3.8 (1,375)
Completed high school.	Less than high school graduate.	(7)	−4.8 (132)	−4.7 (331)	−4.4 (294)	−3.4 (320)	−4.2 (1,078)
	High school graduate or more.	(8)	−3.5 (87)	−3.5 (127)	−3.3 (141)	−2.2 (179)	−3.1 (534)
	Total	(9)	−4.3 (219)	−4.4 (458)	−4.0 (436)	−3.1 (499)	−3.9 (1,612)
Post high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate.	(10)	−4.0 (31)	−3.2 (87)	−3.3 (93)	−2.3 (112)	−3.3 (323)
	High school graduate or more.	(11)	−1.6 (66)	−1.5 (120)	−1.8 (105)	− .1 (155)	−1.2 (446)
	Total	(12)	−2.5 (97)	−2.9 (207)	−2.6 (198)	− .4 (267)	−2.2 (769)
Total		(13)	−4.1 (594)	−4.1 (1,206)	−3.7 (1,166)	−2.8 (1,365)	−3.6 (4,331)

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[1] The standard used for grade level is the average achievement of white students in the Metropolitan Northeast.

Table 4.3.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students by proportion white classmates last year, parents' education, average of parents' education of students in his school *: for Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: Parents' education (social class level of school)	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
1.0–2.9	3.0–3.4 (1)	251. 94 (35)	257. 83 (65)	257. 32 (19)	261. 86 (14)	256. 63 (133)
	3.5–3.9 (2)	253. 84 (118)	258. 69 (147)	255. 96 (28)	258. 96 (52)	256. 85 (345)
	4.0–4.4 (3)	263. 48 (21)	256. 91 (35)	263. 71 (21)	264. 26 (39)	261. 80 (116)
	4.5–6.9 (4)	260. 57 (26)	257. 13 (15)	262. 89 (19)	267. 43 (23)	262. 38 (83)
	Total (5)	255. 39 (200)	258. 15 (262)	259. 64 (87)	262. 41 (128)	258. 33 (677)
3.0–3.4	3.0–3.4 (6)	256. 49 (41)	256. 00 (57)	256. 52 (29)	263. 10 (29)	257. 54 (156)
	3.5–3.9 (7)	254. 92 (131)	259. 73 (125)	258. 38 (34)	263. 96 (54)	258. 43 (344)
	4.0–4.4 (8)	260. 83 (24)	260. 33 (36)	257. 76 (17)	266. 06 (34)	261. 80 (111)
	4.5–6.9 (9)	260. 68 (34)	262. 22 (28)	256. 72 (14)	267. 17 (17)	261. 73 (93)
	Total (10)	256. 67 (230)	259. 24 (246)	257. 45 (94)	264. 71 (134)	259. 20 (704)
3.5–3.9	3.0–3.4 (11)	254. 34 (59)	259. 05 (83)	258. 23 (39)	258. 24 (38)	257. 49 (219)
	3.5–3.9 (12)	256. 41 (174)	257. 27 (188)	259. 91 (56)	261. 27 (56)	257. 74 (474)
	4.0–4.4 (13)	259. 44 (43)	261. 92 (36)	262. 03 (34)	266. 91 (43)	262. 63 (156)
	4.5–6.9 (14)	259. 50 (59)	266. 62 (40)	266. 23 (22)	269. 06 (31)	264. 30 (152)
	Total (15)	256. 98 (335)	259. 25 (347)	260. 87 (151)	263. 46 (168)	259. 44 (1, 001)
4.0–4.4	3. 0–3. 4 (16)	255. 02 (191)	255. 34 (275)	255. 69 (122)	260. 57 (137)	256. 30 (725)
	3. 5–3. 9 (17)	254. 72 (677)	257. 37 (609)	257. 89 (195)	258. 34 (238)	256. 52 (1, 719)
	4. 0–4. 4 (18)	260. 19 (162)	258. 76 (139)	260. 45 (88)	263. 04 (135)	260. 59 (524)
	4. 5–6. 9 (19)	257. 90 (261)	261. 19 (152)	263. 83 (81)	267. 70 (103)	261. 23 (597)
	Total (20)	256. 09 (1, 291)	257. 55 (1, 175)	258. 79 (486)	261. 45 (613)	257. 86 (3, 565)

4.5–4.9	3. 0–3. 4	(21)	256. 12	(8)	261. 67	(18)	256. 60	(10)	268. 47	(15)	261. 80	(51)
	3. 5–3. 9	(22)	255. 96	(46)	262. 65	(54)	263. 85	(13)	264. 21	(19)	260. 66	(132)
	4. 0–4. 4	(23)	266. 72	(18)	260. 35	(17)	260. 38	(8)	267. 31	(16)	264. 18	(59)
	4. 5–6. 9	(24)	264. 86	(29)	268. 35	(20)	262. 89	(9)	274. 24	(29)	268. 58	(87)
	Total	(25)	260. 44	(101)	263. 17	(109)	261. 13	(40)	269. 33	(79)	263. 56	(329)
5.0–5.9	3. 0–3. 4	(26)	259. 85	(26)	257. 79	(33)	264. 07	(15)	260. 29	(17)	259. 88	(91)
	3. 5–3. 9	(27)	258. 84	(74)	259. 75	(89)	260. 71	(38)	264. 28	(40)	260. 37	(241)
	4. 0–4. 4	(28)	266. 27	(44)	267. 30	(37)	262. 06	(17)	272. 89	(36)	267. 80	(134)
	4. 5-6. 9	(29)	266. 27	(52)	270. 79	(54)	268. 60	(20)	277. 37	(71)	271. 75	(197)
	Total	(30)	262. 61	(196)	263. 56	(213)	263. 28	(90)	271. 42	(164)	265. 18	(663)
6.0–8.0	3. 0–3. 4	(31)	251. 17	(12)	265. 33	(9)	259. 88	(8)	261. 38	(13)	259. 02	(42)
	3. 5–3. 9	(32)	256. 34	(41)	262. 59	(32)	259. 95	(21)	265. 88	(35)	261. 07	(129)
	4. 0–4. 4	(33)	270. 45	(33)	266. 87	(15)	261. 75	(8)	274. 41	(22)	269. 99	(78)
	4. 5–6. 9	(34)	267. 00	(60)	274. 16	(62)	271. 85	(41)	275. 70	(84)	272. 56	(247)
	Total	(35)	263. 48	(146)	269. 42	(118)	266. 38	(78)	272. 07	(154)	268. 02	(496)
	Total	(36)	257. 32	(2, 499)	259. 35	(2, 470)	260. 11	(1, 026)	264. 78	(1, 440)	259. 82	(7, 435)

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*Parents' education is average of father's and mother's education: 1=none or some grade school, 2=completed grade school, 3=some highschool, but did not graduate, 4=graduate from highschool, 5=technical, nursing or business school after highschool, 6=some college, but less than 4 years, 7=graduated from a 4-year college, 8=attended graduate or professional school.

TABLE 4.4.—*Average grade levels behind in verbal achievement*[1] *for 9th grade Negro students, by proportion white classmates last year, parents' education and average of parents' education of the students in his school for Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)[2]	School average: Parents' education (social class level of school)	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
1.0–2.9	3.0–3.4	−3. 7 (35)	−2. 9 (65)	−3. 0 (19)	−2. 3 (14)	−3. 1 (133)
	3.5–3.9	−3. 5 (118)	−2. 8 (147)	−3. 2 (28)	−2. 7 (52)	−3. 1 (345)
	4.0–4.4	−2. 0 (21)	−3. 0 (35)	−2. 0 (21)	−1. 9 (39)	−2. 3 (116)
	4.5–6.9	−2. 5 (26)	−3. 0 (15)	−2. 1 (19)	−1. 4 (23)	−2. 2 (83)
	Total	−3. 2 (200)	−2. 9 (262)	−2. 6 (87)	−2. 2 (128)	−2. 8 (677)
3.0–3.4	3.0–3.4	−3. 1 (41)	−3. 2 (57)	−3. 1 (29)	−2. 1 (29)	−3. 0 (156)
	3.5–3.9	−3. 3 (131)	−2. 6 (125)	−2. 8 (34)	−2. 0 (54)	−2. 8 (344)
	4.0–4.4	−2. 4 (24)	−2. 5 (36)	−2. 9 (17)	−1. 6 (34)	−2. 3 (111)
	4.5–6.9	−2. 5 (34)	−2. 2 (28)	−3. 1 (14)	−1. 5 (17)	−2. 3 (93)
	Total	−3. 1 (230)	−2. 7 (246)	−3. 0 (94)	−1. 9 (134)	−2. 7 (704)
3.5–3.9	3.0–3.4	−3. 4 (59)	−2. 7 (83)	−2. 8 (39)	−2. 8 (38)	−3. 0 (219)
	3.5–3.9	−3. 1 (174)	−3. 0 (188)	−2. 6 (56)	−2. 4 (56)	−2. 9 (474)
	4.0–4.4	−2. 7 (43)	−2. 3 (36)	−2. 3 (34)	−1. 5 (43)	−2. 2 (156)
	4.5–6.9	−2. 7 (59)	−1. 6 (40)	−1. 6 (22)	−1. 2 (31)	−1. 9 (152)
	Total	−3. 0 (335)	−2. 7 (347)	−2. 4 (151)	−2. 0 (168)	−2. 7 (1, 001)
4.0–4.4	3.0–3.4	−3. 3 (191)	−3. 3 (275)	−3. 2 (122)	−2. 5 (137)	−3. 1 (725)
	3.5–3.9	−3. 3 (677)	−3. 0 (609)	−2. 9 (195)	−2. 8 (238)	−3. 1 (1, 719)
	4.0–4.4	−2. 5 (162)	−2. 8 (139)	−2. 5 (88)	−2. 1 (135)	−2. 5 (524)
	4.5–6.9	−2. 9 (261)	−2. 4 (152)	−2. 0 (81)	−1. 4 (103)	−2. 4 (597)
	Total	−3. 2 (1, 291)	−3. 0 (1, 175)	−2. 8 (486)	−2. 4 (613)	−2. 9 (3, 565)

4.5–4.9	3.0–3.4	−3. 2	(8)	−2. 3	(18)	−3. 1	(10)	−1. 3	(15)	−2. 3	(51)
	3.5–3.9	−3. 2	(46)	−2. 2	(54)	−2. 0	(13)	−1. 9	(19)	−2. 5	(132)
	4.0–4.4	−1. 5	(18)	−2. 5	(17)	−2. 5	(8)	−1. 5	(16)	−1. 9	(59)
	4.5–6.9	−1. 8	(29)	−1. 3	(20)	−2. 1	(9)	−. 4	(29)	−1. 3	(87)
	Total	−2. 5	(101)	−2. 1	(109)	−2. 4	(40)	−1. 1	(79)	−2. 0	(329)
5.0–5.9	3.0–3.4	−2. 6	(26)	−2. 9	(33)	−1. 9	(15)	−2. 5	(17)	−2. 6	(91)
	3.5–3.9	−2. 8	(74)	−2. 6	(89)	−2. 5	(38)	−1. 9	(40)	−2. 5	(241)
	4.0–4.4	−1. 6	(44)	−1. 5	(37)	−2. 3	(17)	−. 6	(36)	−1. 4	(134)
	4.5–6.9	−1. 6	(52)	−. 9	(54)	−1. 3	(20)	+. 1	(71)	−. 8	(197)
	Total	−2. 2	(196)	−2. 0	(213)	−2. 1	(90)	−. 8	(164)	−1. 8	(663)
6.0–8.0	3.0–3.4	−3. 8	(12)	−1. 8	(9)	−2. 6	(8)	−2. 4	(13)	−2. 7	(42)
	3.5–3.9	−3. 1	(41)	−2. 2	(32)	−2. 6	(21)	−1. 7	(35)	−2. 4	(129)
	4.0–4.4	−1. 0	(33)	−1. 5	(15)	−2. 3	(8)	−. 4	(22)	−1. 0	(78)
	4.5–6.9	−1. 5	(60)	−. 4	(62)	−. 8	(41)	−. 2	(84)	−. 6	(247)
	Total	−2. 0	(146)	−1. 1	(118)	−1. 6	(78)	−. 7	(154)	−1. 3	(496)
	Total	−3. 0	(2, 499)	−2. 7	(2, 470)	−2. 6	(1, 026)	−1. 8	(1, 440)	−2. 6	(7, 435)

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[1] The standard used for grade level is the average achievement of white students in the Metropolitan Northeast.

[2] Parents' education is average of father's and mother's education: 1—none or some grade school; 2—completed grade school; 3—some high school, but did not graduate; 4—graduate from high school; 5—technical, nursing or business school after high school; 6—some college, but less than 4 years; 7—graduated from a 4-year college; 8—attended graduate or professional school.

TABLE 4.5.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 6th grade Negro students by student social class, school social class, and proportion white classmates last year, for the Metropolitan Northeast*

Student social class [1]	School social class [1]	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	A few II	About half III	Most [2] IV	Total V
Lower	Low (1)	239.33 (174)	240.24 (157)	238.09 (55)	239.07 (39)	239.48 (425)
	Medium (2)	240.12 (139)	240.76 (105)	240.75 (40)	241.00 (40)	240.51 (324)
	High (3)	240.24 (34)	244.31 (29)	244.56 (16)	246.00 (34)	243.63 (113)
	Total (4)	239.73 (347)	240.83 (291)	239.98 (111)	241.84 (113)	240.41 (862)
Middle	Low (5)	240.84 (201)	240.87 (146)	241.40 (44)	239.50 (47)	240.76 (438)
	Medium (6)	242.22 (179)	242.69 (161)	242.53 (60)	241.82 (55)	242.38 (455)
	High (7)	244.67 (61)	241.62 (55)	244.53 (38)	245.75 (52)	244.10 (206)
	Total (8)	241.93 (441)	241.79 (362)	242.71 (142)	242.44 (154)	242.06 (1,099)
Upper	Low (9)	240.95 (402)	241.18 (290)	245.66 (95)	244.86 (94)	241.95 (881)
	Medium (10)	242.92 (599)	243.60 (544)	244.78 (171)	245.67 (159)	243.68 (1,473)
	High (11)	246.68 (471)	247.45 (457)	245.78 (239)	249.05 (443)	247.42 (1,610)
	Total (12)	243.58 (1,472)	244.42 (1,291)	245.42 (505)	247.71 (696)	244.81 (3,964)

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[1] Based on an index of the number of material possessions in the home: television, telephone, record player, refrigerator, automobile, vacuum cleaner.

[2] In the 6th grade tabulations, 187 students are not included who reported they were Negro and that "all" their fellow classmates were white. There were many indications that response unreliability was severe for this group. For example, half of these students were in schools where the principal either reported that 80 percent or more of the students in his school are Negro, or that all the students are white.

TABLE 4.6.—*Average grade levels behind in verbal achievement*[1] *for 6th grade Negro students by student social class, school social class and proportion of white classmates last year for the Metropolitan Northeast*

Student social class[2]	School social class[2]		Proportion white classmates last year				
			None I	A few II	About half III	Most IV	Total V
Lower	Lower	(1)	−2.4 (174)	−2.3 (157)	−2.6 (55)	−2.5 (39)	−2.4 (425)
	Middle	(2)	−2.3 (139)	−2.2 (105)	−2.2 (40)	−2.2 (40)	−2.3 (324)
	Upper	(3)	−2.3 (34)	−1.8 (29)	−1.7 (16)	−1.6 (34)	−1.8 (113)
	Total	(4)	−2.4 (347)	−2.2 (291)	−2.3 (111)	−2.9 (113)	−2.3 (862)
Middle	Lower	(5)	−2.2 (201)	−2.2 (146)	−2.1 (44)	−2.4 (47)	−2.2 (438)
	Middle	(6)	−2.0 (179)	−2.0 (161)	−2.0 (60)	−2.1 (55)	−2.0 (455)
	Upper	(7)	−1.7 (61)	−2.1 (55)	−1.7 (38)	−1.6 (52)	−1.8 (206)
	Total	(8)	−2.1 (441)	−2.0 (362)	−2.0 (142)	−2.0 (154)	−2.1 (1,099)
Upper	Lower	(9)	−2.2 (402)	−2.2 (290)	−1.6 (95)	−1.7 (94)	−2.1 (881)
	Middle	(10)	−1.9 (599)	−1.8 (544)	−1.7 (171)	−1.6 (159)	−1.8 (1,473)
	Upper	(11)	−1.4 (471)	−1.3 (457)	−1.6 (239)	−1.2 (443)	−1.3 (1,610)
	Total	(12)	−1.8 (1,472)	−1.7 (1,291)	−1.6 (505)	−1.3 (696)	−1.7 (3,964)

[1] The standard used for grade level is the average achievement of white students in the Metropolitan Northeast.
[2] Based on an index of the number of material possessions in the home: telephone, television, record player, refrigerator, automobile, vacuum cleaner.

Table 4.7.—*Average verbal achievement for 9th grade Negro students, by material possessions in the home, school average of possessions in students' homes, and proportion white classmates last year, for the Metropolitan Northeast*

Material possessions in the student's home [1]	School average: Material possessions in the home [1]	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
1 or 2	4.0–4.8	253.42 (31)	255.85 (27)	257.43 (7)	254.14 (14)	254.73 (79)
	4.9–5.4	255.70 (48)	253.38 (21)	252.87 (15)	256.42 (12)	254.84 (96)
	5.5–6.0	256.00 (15)	255.09 (11)	258.67 (9)	262.14 (14)	258.04 (49)
	Total	255.00 (94)	254.83 (59)	255.58 (31)	257.62 (40)	255.50 (224)
3	4.0–4.8	252.57 (100)	254.47 (150)	253.18 (54)	254.44 (41)	253.71 (345)
	4.9–5.4	255.65 (134)	256.28 (92)	253.52 (29)	260.02 (39)	256.22 (294)
	5.5–6.0	257.28 (28)	258.67 (39)	259.65 (17)	261.96 (25)	259.22 (109)
	Total	254.65 (262)	255.64 (281)	254.38 (100)	258.30 (105)	255.50 (748)
4	4.0–4.8	254.48 (134)	256.44 (218)	256.73 (63)	262.67 (57)	256.67 (472)
	4.9–5.4	256.49 (261)	259.10 (208)	257.30 (56)	257.01 (77)	257.53 (602)
	5.5–6.0	258.05 (58)	256.89 (85)	257.72 (75)	263.31 (70)	258.90 (288)
	Total	256.10 (453)	257.60 (511)	257.28 (194)	260.75 (204)	257.53 (1,362)
5	4.0–4.8	254.88 (152)	257.29 (228)	260.25 (60)	259.83 (66)	257.25 (506)
	4.9–5.4	255.94 (374)	259.03 (278)	260.20 (105)	260.63 (106)	258.03 (863)
	5.5–6.0	260.94 (163)	260.39 (170)	262.68 (116)	265.00 (196)	262.34 (645)
	Total	256.89 (689)	258.78 (676)	261.23 (281)	262.63 (368)	259.18 (2,014)
6	4.0–4.8	253.05 (147)	257.81 (430)	258.08 (52)	261.31 (65)	257.15 (694)
	4.9–5.4	255.88 (356)	260.82 (367)	262.11 (144)	264.41 (164)	259.86 (1,031)
	5.5–6.0	263.09 (494)	264.67 (430)	263.63 (223)	270.43 (490)	265.78 (1,637)
	Total	259.04 (997)	261.11 (1,227)	262.42 (419)	268.23 (719)	262.18 (3,362)

[1] An index based on the number of the following 6 items which the students' family possesses: television set; telephone; record player, hi fi or stereo; electric or gas refrigerator; automobile; vacuum cleaner.

Table 4.8.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students, by reading material in their home, school average of reading material in student homes, and proportion white classmates, Metropolitan Northeast*

Reading material in the students' home [1]	School average: reading material in students' homes [1]	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Low	Low	249.21 (19)	251.18 (22)	255.07 (14)	255.83 (12)	252.27 (67)
	Medium	253.44 (287)	255.66 (292)	254.70 (102)	257.46 (100)	254.95 (781)
	High	257.45 (71)	255.21 (56)	260.15 (48)	260.30 (49)	258.09 (224)
	Total	253.98 (377)	255.32 (370)	256.33 (164)	258.20 (161)	255.44 (1,072)
Medium	Low	251.52 (33)	252.24 (42)	252.68 (19)	259.97 (31)	254.03 (125)
	Medium	255.34 (659)	257.45 (688)	258.18 (234)	260.83 (256)	257.26 (1,837)
	High	259.51 (314)	261.19 (205)	261.63 (126)	267.32 (245)	262.35 (890)
	Total	256.52 (1,006)	258.04 (935)	259.05 (379)	263.77 (532)	258.71 (2,852)
High	Low	254.59 (29)	256.45 (40)	258.10 (20)	263.81 (400)	262.43 (489)
	Medium	256.23 (610)	259.55 (710)	259.36 (250)	260.53 (312)	258.61 (1,882)
	High	263.16 (480)	265.88 (415)	265.96 (213)	272.08 (404)	266.68 (1,512)
	Total	259.16 (1,119)	261.70 (1,165)	262.22 (483)	265.89 (1,116)	262.24 (3,883)

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[1] An index based on student responses to questions on family possession of dictionary; encyclopedia; daily newspaper; number of magazines in the home, and number of books in the home.

TABLE 4.9.—*Average verbal achievement of 12th grade Negro students, by their parents' interest in education, reading material in their home, average parents' education of the students in the school, and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' interest [1]	Reading material in the home [2]	School average: Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year				
			None	Less than half	About half	More than half	Total
Low	Low	Less than high school graduate.	256. 00 (3)	266. 75 (12)	269. 57 (14)	269. 70 (10)	267. 69 (39)
		High school graduate or more.	269. 59 (2)		278. 00 (2)		273. 75 (4)
	Medium	Less than high school graduate.	265. 91 (22)	264. 92 (63)	269. 97 (64)	274. 86 (52)	269. 21 (201)
		High school graduate or more.	273. 00 (9)	274. 95 (19)	278. 75 (24)	281. 71 (28)	278. 24 (80)
	High	Less than high school graduate.	265. 90 (31)	266. 48 (98)	269. 74 (76)	277. 81 (122)	271. 41 (327)
		High school graduate or more.	279. 80 (49)	281. 16 (75)	279. 80 (83)	286. 80 (103)	282. 45 (310)
Medium	Low	Less than high school graduate.	265. 38 (21)	263. 63 (43)	265. 62 (34)	272. 26 (35)	266. 69 (133)
		High school graduate or more.	269. 71 (7)	272. 70 (10)	274. 15 (13)	277. 73 (22)	274. 79 (52)
	Medium	Less than high school graduate.	264. 61 (65)	264. 91 (150)	271. 40 (152)	274. 13 (136)	269. 32 (503)
		High school graduate or more.	269. 34 (42)	273. 89 (48)	272. 13 (201)	279. 96 (74)	273. 63 (365)
	High	Less than high school graduate.	265. 30 (67)	267. 17 (164)	270. 02 (155)	275. 76 (181)	270. 47 (567)
		High school graduate or more.	278. 56 (65)	276. 73 (116)	275. 61 (113)	282. 88 (152)	278. 81 (446)

High	Low	Less than high school graduate.	264. 92 (36)	268. 77 (71)	264. 86 (56)	272. 41 (61)	268. 16 (224)
		High school graduate or more.	275. 33 (21)	264. 92 (13)	273. 18 (17)	280. 08 (24)	274. 56 (75)
	Medium	Less than high school graduate.	263. 70 (57)	267. 98 (126)	266. 28 (98)	272. 24 (127)	268. 30 (408)
		High school graduate or more.	272. 22 (36)	270. 62 (42)	274. 54 (69)	278. 88 (76)	274. 91 (223)
	High	Less than high school graduate.	266. 75 (28)	269. 20 (102)	270. 58 (83)	275. 66 (93)	271. 31 (306)
		High school graduate or more.	279. 00 (33)	277. 13 (55)	277. 84 (63)	282. 32 (69)	279. 24 (220)

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[1] An index based on the following items: How often do you and your parents talk about your school work? Did anyone at home read to you when you were small, before you started school?

[2] An index based on student responses to questions on family possession of: dictionary, encyclopedia, daily newspaper, number of magazines in the home, and number of books in the home.

Table 4.10.—*Average verbal achievement for the 12th grade Negro students, by their parents' educational desires, the reading material in their home, the average of parents' education of the other students in the school, and proportion of white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' educational desires[1]	Reading material in the home[2]	School average: parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year				
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Low	High	Less than high school graduate.	263. 88 (41)	263. 96 (100)	264. 84 (80)	268. 85 (72)	265. 39 (293)
		High school graduate or more.	276. 25 (8)	267. 90 (48)	271. 25 (51)	275. 75 (53)	271. 98 (160)
		Total	265. 90 (49)	265. 24 (148)	267. 34 (131)	271. 78 (125)	267. 72 (453)
	Medium	Less than high school graduate.	260. 72 (61)	263. 39 (132)	265. 72 (119)	270. 57 (104)	265. 46 (416)
		High school graduate or more.	268. 16 (18)	265. 15 (26)	271. 78 (40)	275. 41 (49)	271. 33 (133)
		Total	262. 42 (79)	263. 68 (158)	267. 24 (159)	272. 12 (153)	266. 88 (549)
	Low	Less than high school graduate.	262. 04 (22)	266. 00 (72)	262. 35 (63)	269. 32 (53)	265. 33 (210)
		High school graduate or more.	276. 33 (15)	264. 50 (12)	272. 62 (13)	277. 72 (25)	273. 94 (65)
		Total	267. 83 (37)	265. 78 (84)	264. 11 (76)	272. 01 (78)	267. 36 (275)
Medium	High	Less than high school graduate.	265. 60 (62)	267. 77 (176)	269. 41 (148)	276. 03 (189)	270. 67 (575)
		High school graduate or more.	274. 86 (77)	278. 70 (85)	277. 32 (124)	280. 42 (121)	278. 06 (407)
		Total	270. 73 (139)	271. 33 (261)	273. 02 (272)	277. 74 (310)	273. 74 (982)
	Medium	Less than high school graduate.	267. 69 (61)	267. 34 (166)	270. 39 (139)	273. 38 (161)	269. 84 (527)
		High school graduate or more.	270. 91 (58)	272. 62 (61)	275. 61 (75)	279. 01 (83)	274. 98 (277)

		Total	269.26 (119)	268.76 (227)	272.22 (214)	275.30 (244)	271.74 (804)
	Low	Less than high school graduate.	266.39 (31)	269.14 (44)	269.73 (37)	274.40 (42)	270.16 (154)
		High school graduate or more.	270.00 (10)	274.11 (9)	273.65 (17)	279.29 (17)	274.85 (53)
		Total	267.27 (41)	269.98 (53)	270.96 (54)	275.81 (59)	271.36 (207)
High	High	Less than high school graduate.	269.61 (23)	271.22 (88)	276.17 (86)	280.86 (135)	276.31 (332)
		High school graduate or more.	284.68 (62)	282.13 (113)	281.54 (84)	289.82 (150)	285.21 (409)
		Total	280.60 (85)	277.35 (201)	278.82 (170)	285.58 (285)	281.23 (74)
	Medium	Less than high school graduate.	265.82 (22)	269.44 (41)	275.39 (56)	279.92 (50)	274.04 (169)
		High school graduate or more.	275.36 (11)	282.40 (22)	279.15 (27)	285.80 (46)	282.32 (106)
		Total	269.00 (337)	273.96 (63)	276.61 (83)	282.74 (96)	277.23 (275)
	Low	Less than high school graduate.	265.00 (7)	262.60 (10)	282.25 (4)	276.73 (11)	270.44 (32)
		High school graduate or more.	272.80 (5)	(2)	(2)	285.25 (4)	278.33 (13)
		Total	268.25 (12)	263.00 (12)	282.83 (6)	279.00 (15)	272.38 (45)

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[1] An index based on the following five student questionnaire items: "How good a student does your mother (your father) want you to be in school?"; "How much education does your father (your mother) want you to have?"; "About how often last year did your mother or father attend parent association meetings such as the PTA?"

[2] An index based on student responses to questions on family possession of dictionary, encyclopedia, daily newspaper, number of magazines in the home, and number of books in the home.

Table 4.11.—*Average verbal achievement for 12th grade Negro students, by parents' background, school average of parents' education, percent of students in the school who go on to college, and proportion white classmates last year, for the Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Percent of students in school who go on to college	Proportion white classmates last year: Less than half I	About half II	More than half III	Total IV
Less than high school graduate (lower).	Less than high school graduate (lower)	0 to 19	266.8 (424)	269.1 (120)	272.6 (118)	268.2 (662)
		20 to 29	261.1 (54)	268.7 (107)	273.0 (92)	268.6 (253)
		30 to 100	267.7 (99)	268.9 (117)	275.0 (175)	271.3 (391)
		Total	266.4 (577)	268.9 (344)	273.8 (385)	269.2 (1, 306)
	High school graduate or more (middle to upper).	0 to 19				
		20 to 29	269.7 (55)	273.4 (74)	277.2 (35)	273.0 (164)
		30 to 100	273.3 (187)	275.5 (113)	279.3 (179)	276.1 (479)
		Total	272.5 (242)	274.7 (187)	279.0 (214)	275.3 (643)
High school graduate (middle)	Less than high school graduate (lower)	0 to 19	265.9 (326)	267.3 (118)	271.7 (91)	267.2 (535)
		20 to 29	262.2 (51)	268.3 (85)	274.6 (80)	269.2 (216)
		30 to 100	265.8 (86)	268.1 (92)	274.9 (149)	270.6 (327)
		Total	265.5 (463)	267.8 (295)	273.9 (320)	268.6 (1, 078)
	High school graduate or more (middle to upper).	0 to 19				
		20 to 29	268.1 (50)	274.4 (71)	275.0 (25)	272.3 (146)
		30 to 100	275.1 (164)	275.4 (70)	281.3 (154)	277.6 (388)
		Total	273.4 (214)	274.9 (141)	280.4 (179)	276.1 (534)
More than high school graduate (upper).	Less than high school graduate (lower)	0 to 19	268.3 (83)	273.4 (33)	273.9 (19)	270.3 (135)
		20 to 29	266.2 (5)	274.7 (26)	278.7 (28)	275.9 (59)
		30 to 100	271.6 (31)	276.0 (34)	282.3 (65)	278.1 (130)
		Total	269.1 (119)	274.7 (93)	280.0 (112)	274.5 (324)
	High school graduate or more (middle to upper).	0 to 19				
		20 to 29	273.5 (30)	280.3 (59)	282.0 (18)	278.7 (107)
		30 to 100	285.0 (156)	283.8 (46)	289.6 (137)	286.7 (339)
		Total	283.1 (186)	281.8 (105)	288.7 (155)	284.7 (446)

TABLE 4.12.—*Average verbal achievement of 9th-grade Negro students, by student social class, school average of parent's educational desires, and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Student social class (material possessions in the home) [1]	School average: Parent's educational desires [2]	Proportion white classmates last year			
		None	Less than half	About half	More than half
1, 2 or 3	Low	253. 86 (231)	255. 75 (277)	254. 10 (101)	256. 99 (106)
	High	256. 38 (125)	254. 43 (63)	256. 36 (30)	260. 66 (39)
4	Low	254. 98 (287)	257. 22 (408)	256. 88 (142)	259. 98 (162)
	High	258. 03 (166)	259. 11 (103)	258. 36 (52)	263. 74 (42)
5	Low	255. 81 (386)	258. 08 (471)	259. 81 (183)	261. 30 (247)
	High	258. 25 (303)	260. 40 (205)	263. 90 (98)	265. 92 (121)
6	Low	256. 08 (402)	260. 12 (442)	258. 60 (189)	265. 08 (371)
	High	261. 03 (595)	269. 87 (500)	265. 56 (230)	271. 60 (347)

[1] An index based on the number of the following six items possessed by the students' family: television set; telephone; record player, hi fi or stereo; electric or gas refrigerator; automobile; vacuum cleaner.

[2] An index based on the following five student questions: "How good a student does your mother (does your father) want you to be in school?"; "How much education does your father (mother) want you to have?"; "About how often last year did your mother or father attend parent association meetings such as the PTA?"

TABLE 4.13.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students by parents' education, average of school's verbal achievement scores, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: Verbal achievement (social class level of school)	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate (low).	250 to 259 (1)	253.72 (380)	257.70 (481)	256.84 (109)	255.81 (90)	256.02 (1,060)
	260 to 269 (2)	259.09 (347)	261.06 (298)	259.35 (129)	263.33 (166)	260.50 (940)
	270+ (3)	259.10 (41)	258.13 (76)	263.07 (94)	267.74 (174)	263.78 (385)
	Total (4)	256.43 (768)	258.91 (855)	259.58 (332)	263.54 (430)	259.04 (2,385)
High school graduate (medium).	250 to 259 (5)	253.79 (705)	256.12 (700)	255.84 (184)	257.28 (195)	255.30 (1,784)
	260 to 269 (6)	259.04 (616)	260.62 (482)	258.94 (225)	261.98 (272)	260.00 (1,595)
	270+ (7)	259.60 (71)	258.90 (102)	263.96 (117)	267.17 (225)	263.78 (519)
	Total (8)	256.41 (1,392)	258.03 (1,284)	258.97 (526)	262.37 (696)	258.35 (3,898)
Post high school training or college.	250 to 259 (9)	255.91 (97)	259.01 (109)	258.43 (37)	260.60 (35)	258.05 (298)
	260 to 269 (10)	265.48 (221)	269.07 (171)	265.29 (75)	267.30 (122)	266.87 (589)
	270+ (11)	268.58 (24)	268.37 (51)	268.11 (56)	277.52 (161)	273.38 (292)
	Total (12)	262.98 (342)	265.65 (331)	264.72 (168)	271.74 (318)	266.39 (1,159)

TABLE 4.14.—*Average verbal achievement for 9th grade Negro students, by individual social class, social class of students in the same classroom, and proportion white classmates, Metropolitan Northeast.*

Individual social class: Index of material possessions in student's home [1]	Social class in the classroom: Average parents' education of students in the same classroom [2]	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
6	Less than high school graduate.	253. 62 (93)	255. 92 (212)	254. 15 (60)	257. 17 (78)	255. 42 (443)
	High school graduate	255. 28 (252)	254. 55 (120)	252. 62 (63)	259. 15 (46)	255. 12 (481)
	More than high school graduate.	252. 50 (10)	258. 88 (8)	251. 00 (8)	259. 38 (21)	256. 40 (47)
	Total	254. 77 (355)	255. 51 (340)	253. 22 (131)	258. 12 (145)	255. 32 (971)
5	Less than high school graduate.	255. 14 (133)	257. 54 (312)	258. 26 (76)	258. 82 (84)	257. 28 (605)
	High school graduate	256. 40 (299)	257. 53 (184)	256. 73 (107)	260. 99 (83)	257. 32 (673)
	More than high school graduate	257. 85 (20)	259. 73 (15)	255. 82 (11)	264. 62 (37)	260. 94 (83)
	Total	256. 09 (452)	257. 60 (511)	257. 28 (194)	260. 75 (204)	257. 52 (1, 361)
4	Less than high school graduate.	255. 47 (165)	258. 71 (343)	262. 02 (82)	258. 37 (120)	258. 28 (710)
	High school graduate	257. 03 (468)	258. 07 (283)	260. 48 (178)	261. 68 (149)	258. 52 (1, 078)
	More than high school graduate.	260. 04 (53)	263. 36 (50)	264. 52 (21)	269. 92 (99)	265. 59 (223)
	Total	256. 89 (686)	258. 79 (676)	261. 23 (281)	262. 82 (368)	259. 22 (2, 011)
3, 2, 1	Less than high school graduate.	255. 59 (202)	260. 22 (364)	257. 42 (87)	263. 25 (141)	259. 27 (794)
	High school graduate	258. 56 (597)	259. 60 (355)	262. 22 (253)	264. 60 (264)	260. 53 (1, 469)
	More than high school graduate.	264. 09 (194)	269. 20 (223)	268. 53 (79)	273. 48 (313)	269. 56 (809)
	Total	259. 04 (993)	262. 11 (942)	262. 41 (419)	268. 20 (718)	262. 58 (3, 072)

[1] Number of the following items found in the student's home: television, telephone, record player, car, electric refrigerator, and vacuum cleaner.
[2] Average of education of best educated parent for all students in the grade who reported the same classroom racial composition.

TABLE 4.15.—*Average verbal achievement for 9th grade Negro students, by material possessions in the home, average parents' education of students in his school, average parents education of students in his class, and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Material possessions in student's home [1]	School average: Parents' education [2]	Classroom average: Parents' education [3]	None	Less than half	About half	More than half
1, 2, and 3	Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	253.96 (89)	255.94 (210)	254.15 (60)	257.17 (78)
		High school graduate	253.77 (183)	254.32 (94)	254.85 (46)	258.25 (28)
		More than high school graduate	251.00 (2)		242.50 (2)	
	High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	246.00 (4)	253.50 (2)		
		High school graduate	259.33 (69)	255.73 (26)	257.70 (17)	260.55 (18)
		More than high school graduate	252.88 (8)	258.88 (8)	253.83 (6)	259.38 (21)
4	Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	255.11 (132)	257.54 (312)	258.04 (75)	258.82 (84)
		High school graduate	255.59 (214)	257.46 (129)	255.35 (66)	261.88 (59)
		More than high school graduate	257.83 (6)		275.00 (2)	
	High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	260.00 (1)		275.00 (1)	
		High school graduate	258.45 (85)	257.69 (55)	258.95 (41)	258.79 (24)
		More than high school graduate	257.86 (14)	259.73 (15)	256.33 (9)	264.62 (37)
5	Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	255.31 (164)	258.70 (342)	262.02 (82)	258.37 (120)
		High school graduate	255.52 (305)	257.29 (175)	259.01 (91)	261.57 (97)
		More than high school graduate	260.00 (3)		253.67 (3)	239.00 (1)

	High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	282. 00 (1)	260. 00 (1)	------------	------------
		High school graduate	259. 86 (163)	259. 33 (108)	262. 02 (87)	261. 88 (52)
		More than high school graduate	260. 04 (50)	263. 36 (50)	266. 33 (18)	270. 23 (98)
6	Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	255. 64 (199)	260. 22 (364)	257. 42 (87)	263. 25 (141)
		High school graduate	255. 23 (315)	256. 63 (157)	260. 40 (109)	262. 58 (144)
		More than high school graduate	255. 33 (15)	------------	261. 67 (3)	273. 50 (2)
	High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	252. 67 (3)	------------	------------	------------
		High school graduate	262. 23 (283)	261. 96 (198)	263. 60 (144)	267. 03 (120)
		More than high school graduate	264. 83 (179)	269. 20 (223)	268. 80 (76)	273. 48 (311)

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[1] An index based on the number of the following six items which the student's family possesses: television set; telephone; record player, hi fi or stereo; electric or gas refrigerator; automobile; vacuum cleaner.

[2] The value associated with each individual student in the average for all students in his school of mother's and father's education. The scores assigned in this calculation are: (1) None or some grade school, (2) completed grade school, (3) some high school but did not graduate, (4) graduate from high school, (5) technical or business school, (6) some college, but less than four years, (7) graduated from a four-year college, (8) attended graduate or professional school.

[3] Associated with each student is average of education of best educated parent for all students in the grade who report the same classroom racial composition.

5.0 TABULATIONS OF AVERAGE VERBAL ACHIEVEMENT SCORES, FOR NEGRO STUDENTS, PLACED IN PARTICULAR ABILITY GROUPS OR TRACKS IN THEIR SCHOOL; METROPOLITAN NORTHEAST

Table 5.1.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th-grade Negro students, by parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, proportion white classmates last year, percent white in school; for Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Percent white in school (Principal's report this year)	Proportion white classmates last year				
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	1–49	264.34 (140)	268.60 (354)	270.48 (173)	271.99 (99)	268.57 (766)
		50–79	261.70 (23)	259.42 (55)	267.38 (166)	274.26 (222)	269.44 (466)
		80–99	271.00 (4)	258.00 (1)	266.80 (5)	277.33 (63)	275.13 (73)
		Total	264.13 (167)	267.34 (410)	268.93 (344)	274.01 (384)	269.25 (1,305)
	High school graduate or more.	1–49	273.63 (86)	273.16 (110)	272.53 (96)	278.90 (39)	273.78 (331)
		50–79	270.91 (11)	262.45 (20)	277.22 (89)	278.32 (109)	276.15 (229)
		80–99	274.86 (14)	288.00 (1)	266.00 (2)	279.80 (65)	278.72 (82)
		Total	273.51 (111)	271.64 (131)	274.69 (187)	278.88 (213)	275.26 (642)
High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate.	1–49	265.68 (127)	267.06 (355)	269.63 (197)	271.20 (107)	268.04 (786)
		50–79	263.91 (32)	261.34 (61)	269.34 (191)	277.00 (258)	271.77 (542)
		80–99	287.25 (4)	280.67 (3)	--------------	276.73 (66)	277.47 (73)
		Total	265.86 (163)	266.32 (419)	269.49 (388)	275.52 (431)	269.97 (1,401)
	High school graduate or more.	1–49	277.41 (135)	278.79 (221)	276.93 (144)	279.67 (57)	278.06 (557)
		50–79	268.22 (9)	273.16 (19)	279.37 (99)	285.12 (164)	281.86 (291)
		80–99	286.33 (9)	279.50 (6)	270.00 (3)	285.35 (109)	284.78 (127)
		Total	277.39 (153)	278.37 (246)	277.83 (246)	284.25 (330)	280.07 (975)

Table 5.2.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students by parents' education, average of parents' education of the students in his schools, proportion white classmates last year, and percent white in school, for the Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Percent white in school	Proportion white classmates last year: None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0-------(1)	257.91 (112)	261.09 (23)	259.17 (6)	256.17 (6)	258.39 (147)
		1-49----(2)	253.56 (296)	258.23 (493)	259.06 (116)	259.00 (98)	257.02 (1,003)
		50-79---(3)	254.98 (136)	257.48 (130)	256.40 (70)	261.60 (109)	257.56 (445)
		80-99---(4)	261.69 (13)	259.26 (19)	258.83 (12)	268.32 (28)	263.15 (72)
		Total--(5)	254.97 (557)	258.21 (665)	258.14 (204)	261.19 (241)	257.55 (1,667)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0-------(6)					
		1-49----(7)	261.02 (108)	263.01 (76)	266.81 (27)	267.88 (24)	263.03 (235)
		50-79---(8)	260.25 (28)	259.64 (95)	259.71 (90)	267.14 (92)	261.98 (305)
		80-99---(9)	259.13 (71)	263.67 (18)	269.70 (10)	264.95 (57)	262.46 (156)
		Total (10)	260.27 (207)	261.38 (189)	262.01 (127)	266.52 (173)	262.44 (696)
High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0------(11)	258.73 (208)	259.06 (35)	257.14 (14)	256.50 (10)	258.61 (267)
		1-49---(12)	254.20 (623)	256.62 (828)	257.11 (269)	260.43 (234)	256.37 (1,954)
		50-79 (13)	255.50 (221)	261.26 (225)	259.70 (124)	260.42 (231)	259.19 (801)
		80-99--(14)	250.86 (22)	255.84 (31)	261.27 (15)	262.00 (36)	257.70 (104)
		Total (15)	255.28 (1,074)	257.61 (1,119)	258.02 (422)	260.46 (511)	257.33 (3,126)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0------(16)					
		1-49---(17)	264.95 (365)	267.78 (223)	265.03 (31)	266.19 (62)	265.99 (681)
		50-79--(18)	260.84 (67)	259.16 (194)	263.54 (184)	270.26 (219)	264.20 (664)
		80-99 (19)	256.50 (218)	265.60 (75)	264.98 (54)	271.23 (166)	263.49 (513)
		Total (20)	261.69 (650)	264.05 (492)	264.00 (269)	270.05 (447)	264.66 (1,858)

Table 5.3.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by track level, proportion white classmates last year, and percent white in the school; for Metropolitan Northeast*

Track level	Percent white in the school	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	Total V
High	0 (1)	281.80 (45)	284.26 (101)	290.25 (4)	(0)	283.68 (150)
	1–49 (2)	272.05 (19)	276.50 (107)	283.14 (126)	285.56 (80)	280.95 (332)
	50–79 (3)	272.67 (6)	265.67 (9)	280.38 (50)	286.75 (138)	283.83 (203)
	80–99 (4)	289.50 (2)	267.00 (1)	249.00 (1)	292.98 (47)	291.47 (51)
	Totals (5)	278.68 (72)	279.60 (218)	282.35 (181)	287.50 (265)	283.03 (736)
Medium	0 (6)	271.04 (216)	272.96 (243)	268.20 (10)	278.00 (3)	272.01 (472)
	1–49 (7)	269.14 (43)	267.55 (279)	269.64 (340)	271.08 (138)	269.13 (800)
	50–79 (8)	263.03 (32)	262.16 (58)	269.13 (235)	274.43 (337)	270.92 (662)
	80–99 (9)	269.88 (8)	269.75 (4)	270.00 (3)	279.66 (138)	278.70 (153)
	Totals (10)	269.88 (299)	269.28 (584)	269.41 (588)	274.87 (616)	271.05 (2,087)
Low	0 (11)	266.88 (16)	257.33 (15)	250.00 (2)	(0)	261.52 (33)
	1–49 (12)	265.50 (6)	263.63 (41)	264.00 (39)	262.00 (13)	263.67 (99)
	50–79 (13)	279.67 (3)	263.42 (12)	263.92 (27)	273.74 (34)	268.86 (76)
	80–99 (14)	271.00 (5)	274.00 (1)	(0)	271.83 (24)	271.76 (30)
	Totals (15)	268.57 (30)	262.37 (69)	263.56 (68)	270.95 (71)	266.05 (238)

TABLE 5.4.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students by track level, proportion white classmates last year, and percent white in the school for Metropolitan Northeast*

Track level	Percent white in the school	Proportion white classmates last year			
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
High	0 (1)	264. 41 (75)	263. 14 (7)	265. 75 (4)	264. 50 (2)
	1–49 (2)	267. 20 (186)	267. 08 (269)	264. 12 (65)	269. 70 (90)
	50–79 (3)	261. 24 (55)	268. 99 (97)	265. 32 (66)	270. 54 (130)
	80–99 (4)	260. 69 (29)	267. 00 (18)	265. 00 (7)	272. 94 (53)
Medium	0 (5)	258. 89 (106)	265. 33 (27)	262. 43 (7)	254. 17 (6)
	1–49 (6)	258. 28 (474)	258. 81 (585)	258. 85 (183)	262. 31 (140)
	50–79 (7)	256. 69 (150)	260. 15 (260)	260. 79 (209)	263. 99 (253)
	80–99 (8)	257. 81 (116)	259. 33 (58)	263. 31 (39)	268. 30 (102)
Low	0 (9)	253. 19 (16)	239. 00 (2)	261. 67 (3)	----------
	1–49 (10)	251. 88 (52)	252. 97 (79)	259. 00 (23)	253. 23 (26)
	50–79 (11)	250. 87 (31)	252. 86 (29)	257. 10 (19)	260. 44 (20)
	80–99 (12)	255. 85 (20)	262. 00 (10)	263. 86 (7)	258. 84 (19)

TABLE 5.5.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students in high English track by percent white in school, parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his schools, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average; parents' education	Percent white in school	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	0 (1)	263.93 (30)	263.17 (6)	265.00 (1)	272.00 (1)
		1–49 (2)	259.24 (34)	264.58 (78)	266.21 (14)	268.00 (22)
		50–79 (3)	256.48 (21)	265.28 (18)	260.64 (11)	265.21 (28)
		80–99 (4)	273.00 (3)	246.00 (2)	(0)	281.00 (2)
	High school graduate or more.	0 (5)	---	---	---	---
		1–49 (6)	268.08 (12)	279.20 (10)	289.00 (1)	275.67 (3)
		50–79 (7)	266.50 (2)	268.27 (11)	260.33 (6)	273.12 (16)
		80–99 (8)	264.00 (9)	272.33 (3)	---	272.62 (8)
High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate.	0 (9)	264.73 (45)	263.00 (1)	266.00 (3)	257.00 (1)
		1–49 (10)	261.33 (72)	263.03 (125)	262.76 (46)	268.20 (54)
		50–79 (11)	264.32 (28)	271.56 (57)	267.95 (20)	266.00 (41)
		80–99 (12)	255.50 (2)	262.50 (4)	256.00 (1)	267.67 (6)
	High school graduate or more.	0 (13)	---	---	---	---
		1–49 (14)	277.60 (68)	277.45 (56)	266.25 (4)	278.82 (11)
		50–79 (15)	262.00 (4)	262.45 (11)	266.31 (29)	277.07 (45)
		80–99 (16)	256.93 (15)	271.89 (9)	266.50 (6)	273.43 (37)

TABLE 5.6.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students in medium and low English tracks by percent white in school parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education	School average: Parents' education	Percent white in school	Proportion white classmates last year None I	 Less than half II	 About half III	 More than half IV	 Total V
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	0.......(1)	256.38 (42)	264.18 (11)	264.67 (3)	246.00 (2)	257.93 (58)
		1-49....(2)	252.16 (115)	256.67 (209)	257.97 (60)	257.48 (44)	255.72 (428)
		50-79...(3)	254.51 (59)	257.02 (60)	253.06 (32)	259.75 (52)	256.36 (203)
		80-99...(4)	259.50 (4)	258.44 (9)	257.25 (8)	266.94 (16)	261.97 (37)
		Total..(5)	253.73 (220)	257.08 (289)	256.58 (103)	259.64 (114)	256.40 (726)
	High school graduate or more.	0.......(6)	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
		1-49....(7)	262.16 (50)	260.87 (47)	266.91 (22)	270.07 (14)	263.32 (133)
		50-79...(8)	258.67 (15)	258.28 (39)	259.89 (56)	265.12 (43)	260.83 (153)
		80-99...(9)	259.64 (31)	260.27 (11)	272.00 (7)	265.54 (33)	263.15 (82)
		Total..(10)	260.80 (96)	259.76 (97)	262.04 (85)	266.04 (90)	262.09 (368)
High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate.	0......(11)	259.06 (80)	263.11 (18)	261.14 (7)	258.25 (4)	259.83 (109)
		1-49...(12)	254.90 (179)	256.29 (304)	256.70 (106)	260.00 (80)	256.43 (669)
		50-79..(13)	253.29 (80)	259.73 (88)	259.13 (52)	260.87 (95)	258.34 (315)
		80-99..(14)	250.83 (6)	252.46 (13)	259.12 (8)	259.31 (13)	255.78 (40)
		Total..(15)	255.42 (345)	252.18 (423)	257.72 (173)	260.35 (192)	255.40 (1,133)
	High school graduate or more.	0......(16)	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
		1-49...(17)	262.57 (182)	265.08 (104)	264.77 (18)	264.18 (28)	263.61 (332)
		50-79..(18)	263.74 (27)	260.99 (102)	264.36 (88)	267.73 (95)	264.23 (312)
		80-99..(19)	257.17 (95)	262.57 (35)	264.39 (23)	269.15 (59)	262.18 (212)
		Total..(20)	260.99 (304)	265.52 (241)	262.42 (129)	267.74 (182)	263.89 (856)

TABLE 5.7.—*Percent of 9th grade Negroes in highest English track by earliest grade in desegregated class, parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, and proportion of white classmates last year: for Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Earliest grade in desegregated class	Proportion white classmates last year				Total
			None	Less than half	About half	More than half	
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	1, 2, or 3	27.8 (108)	31.8 (223)	16.7 (78)	32.0 (100)	28.7 (509)
		4, 5, or 6	20.0 (50)	13.3 (75)	26.3 (19)	26.9 (26)	18.8 (170)
		7, 8, or 9	29.0 (107)	27.0 (63)	25.9 (27)	36.7 (30)	29.1 (227)
		Never	45.7 (35)				45.7 (35)
		Total	29.0 (300)	27.1 (361)	20.2 (124)	32.0 (156)	27.6 (941)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1, 2, or 3	26.0 (50)	22.2 (72)	4.3 (47)	26.1 (69)	20.6 (238)
		4, 5, or 6	17.2 (29)	8.3 (12)	25.0 (8)	21.1 (19)	17.6 (68)
		7, 8, or 9	0 (19)	17.6 (34)	4.0 (25)	15.4 (26)	10.6 (104)
		Never	20.0 (20)				20.0 (20)
		Total	18.6 (118)	19.5 (118)	6.3 (80)	22.8 (114)	17.7 (430)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	1, 2, or 3	33.0 (200)	34.2 (386)	34.1 (138)	36.9 (187)	34.5 (911)
		4, 5, or 6	32.8 (61)	25.9 (81)	28.1 (32)	37.1 (35)	30.1 (209)
		7, 8, or 9	27.5 (138)	25.8 (93)	19.0 (58)	27.8 (54)	25.6 (343)
		Never	26.2 (61)				26.2 (61)
		Total	30.4 (460)	31.6 (560)	29.4 (228)	35.1 (276)	31.5 (1, 524)
	High school graduate or more (medium to upper).	1, 2, or 3	26.1 (180)	29.6 (186)	29.1 (103)	34.4 (183)	29.9 (652)
		4, 5, or 6	20.3 (79)	26.0 (50)	11.5 (26)	29.1 (55)	22.9 (210)
		7, 8, or 9	19.0 (53)	4.7 (64)	14.3 (35)	28.6 (43)	15.6 (195)
		Never	17.0 (53)				17.0 (53)
		Total	22.5 (365)	23.7 (300)	23.2 (164)	32.5 (281)	25.4 (1, 110)

6.0 TABULATIONS BY THE INTERRACIAL CONDITIONS AMONG STUDENTS IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS; METROPOLITAN NORTHEAST

TABLE 6.1.—*Average verbal achievement test scores, 9th grade Negro students, by percent of teachers reporting race tension in the school, proportion white classmates, parents' education, and school average of parents' education; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Percent teachers reporting race tension in the school	Proportion white classmates			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	0–9	256.18 (262)	258.04 (172)	256.61 (56)	261.64 (80)
		10–19	254.08 (173)	257.54 (226)	258.95 (63)	261.40 (89)
		20–59	253.89 (123)	258.90 (267)	258.39 (86)	260.45 (74)
	High school graduate or more	0–9	261.28 (145)	263.16 (56)	269.10 (19)	267.38 (48)
		10–19	258.19 (47)	262.94 (91)	261.24 (51)	268.77 (71)
		20–59	256.44 (18)	255.63 (43)	260.33 (57)	263.90 (68)
High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	0–9	257.01 (430)	258.22 (264)	256.93 (105)	262.30 (135)
		10–19	254.35 (376)	255.84 (305)	257.20 (136)	259.31 (179)
		20–59	253.77 (269)	258.30 (550)	259.27 (181)	260.51 (200)
	High school graduate or more	0–9	261.13 (442)	266.24 (163)	267.09 (85)	273.43 (187)
		10–19	263.82 (188)	264.97 (250)	262.54 (104)	269.14 (158)
		20–59	256.38 (29)	257.04 (83)	262.64 (83)	267.37 (151)
	Total	0–9	258.75 (1,279)	260.59 (655)	261.00 (265)	267.35 (450)
		10–19	256.79 (784)	259.64 (872)	259.66 (354)	264.16 (497)
		20–29	254.62 (287)	256.96 (472)	261.35 (184)	264.72 (223)
		30–39	254.01 (110)	260.06 (374)	260.58 (154)	262.99 (167)
		40–59	250.62 (42)	257.44 (97)	254.64 (69)	259.52 (103)

Table 6.2.—*Average verbal achievement test scores, 12th grade Negroes, by percent of teachers reporting race tension in the school, proportion white classmates, parents' education and school average of parents' education; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education	School average: parents' education	Percent of teachers seeing race tension problem	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	0–9	264.70 (126)	269.13 (282)	270.04 (72)	275.97 (112)
		10–50	262.42 (41)	263.40 (128)	268.64 (272)	272.89 (273)
	High school graduate or more	0–9	274.10 (99)	272.98 (119)	275.57 (151)	281.31 (126)
		10–50	268.67 (12)	258.33 (12)	271.03 (36)	275.60 (88)
High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	0–9	266.57 (106)	267.74 (293)	272.68 (98)	278.07 (114)
		10–50	264.53 (57)	263.07 (241)	268.41 (290)	274.60 (318)
	High school graduate or more	0–9	278.31 (147)	278.65 (238)	278.84 (215)	285.36 (217)
		10–50	255.17 (6)	270.56 (9)	270.84 (31)	282.30 (117)

Table 6.3.—*Characteristics of 9th grade Negro students, by proportion white classmates and percent of teachers in their school who report student racial tension; Metropolitan Northeast*

Characteristic	Percent of teachers who report "the different races or ethnic groups don't get along together"	Proportion white classmates last year			
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Percent of students definitely planning college	0–9	37 (1, 279)	35 (655)	40 (265)	51 (450)
	10–19	39 (784)	40 (872)	39 (354)	43 (497)
	20–29	34 (287)	26 (472)	30 (184)	44 (223)
	30–39	23 (110)	37 (374)	40 (154)	45 (167)
	40–59	19 (42)	26 (97)	41 (69)	38 (103)
Percent of students who disagree: Good luck is more important than hard work for success.	0–9	48 (1, 279)	55 (655)	60 (265)	65 (450)
	10–19	40 (784)	52 (872)	44 (354)	59 (497)
	20–29	38 (287)	50 (472)	61 (184)	61 (223)
	30–39	26 (110)	46 (374)	53 (154)	62 (167)
	40–59	36 (42)	60 (97)	38 (69)	42 (103)
Percent of students who have no white close friends	0–9	49 (1, 279)	34 (655)	20 (265)	18 (450)
	10–19	41 (784)	30 (872)	18 (354)	21 (497)
	20–29	44 (287)	32 (472)	17 (184)	19 (223)
	30–39	31 (110)	30 (374)	19 (154)	22 (167)
	40–59	38 (42)	39 (97)	26 (69)	22 (103)

Table 6.4.—*For the average 9th grade school: Percent of teachers who report tension between students of different races, by the racial composition of the school, and the percent of students in the school who have never attended desegregated classes or first attended such classes in the last 2 years; Metropolitan Northeast*

[Number in parentheses is the number of schools]

Percent white enrolled in the school	Percent of students who first attended desegregated classes in the last 2 years or who never attended a desegregated class			
	0–29	30–39	40–49	50–99
1–49	18.58 (14)	14.33 (9)	7.00 (2)	5.50 (4)
50–79	32.43 (7)	18.20 (5)	19.00 (5)	13.00 (6)
80–99	8.83 (6)	4.40 (5)	5.22 (9)	3.91 (23)
Total	20.00 (27)	12.74 (19)	9.75 (16)	5.75 (33)

Table 6.5.—*For the average 9th grade school: Percent of teachers who report tension between the races, by racial composition of the school, and the percent of students who first entered desegregated classes in the early elementary grades; Metropolitan Northeast*

[Number in parentheses is the number of schools]

Percent white enrolled in the school	Percent of students in the school who first attended desegregated class in the early elementary grades		
	0–9	10–19	20–80
1–49	10.43 (14)	15.87 (8)	19.00 (8)
50–79	16.75 (16)	31.00 (5)	34.00 (2)
80–99	5.03 (37)	4.33 (6)	------
Total	8.96 (67)	16.21 (19)	22.00 (10)

TABLE 6.6.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students choosing all-Negro friends by parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, proportion white classmates, and whether the student has a white friend; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Close white friends	Proportion white classmates last year: None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Completed grade school or less.	Less than high school graduate	No	22 (37)	13 (53)	27 (37)	32 (28)
		Yes	2 (16)	2 (76)	8 (68)	2 (99)
	High school graduate or more	No	35 (20)	18 (11)	14 (7)	33 (12)
		Yes	11 (18)	0 (21)	0 (33)	2 (39)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate	No	19 (67)	26 (102)	28 (51)	27 (67)
		Yes	0 (47)	5 (179)	2 (188)	3 (191)
	High school graduate or more	No	27 (44)	18 (40)	5 (43)	16 (43)
		Yes	3 (29)	3 (59)	2 (104)	2 (120)
Completed high school	Less than high school graduate	No	18 (94)	25 (129)	18 (67)	24 (75)
		Yes	11 (38)	6 (202)	2 (228)	2 (245)
	High school graduate or more	No	27 (56)	17 (47)	22 (36)	25 (52)
		Yes	0 (31)	4 (80)	2 (105)	2 (127)
Post high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate	No	17 (18)	23 (39)	30 (20)	33 (27)
		Yes	16 (13)	2 (49)	2 (73)	4 (85)
	High school graduate or more	No	26 (39)	23 (48)	11 (28)	31 (36)
		Yes	0 (27)	2 (72)	2 (77)	2 (119)
	Total	No	23 (375)	29 (469)	20 (289)	26 (340)
		Yes	4 (279)	4 (738)	2 (876)	2 (1, 025)

Table 6.7.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students choosing an all-Negro school, by parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, proportion white classmates, and whether the student has a white friend; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Close white friends	Proportion white classmates last year: None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Completed grade school or more.	Less than high school graduate	No	16 (37)	8 (53)	11 (37)	11 (28)
		Yes	6 (16)	2 (76)	2 (68)	4 (99)
	High school graduate or more	No	25 (20)	0 (11)	0 (7)	25 (12)
		Yes	0 (18)	0 (21)	0 (33)	3 (39)
Some high school	Less than high school graduate	No	10 (67)	11 (102)	8 (51)	10 (67)
		Yes	2 (47)	4 (179)	1 (188)	3 (191)
	High school graduate or more	No	11 (44)	7 (129)	8 (67)	8 (75)
		Yes	3 (29)	0 (59)	1 (104)	2 (120)
Completed high school	Less than high school graduate	No	14 (94)	7 (129)	8 (67)	8 (75)
		Yes	12 (38)	3 (202)	2 (228)	2 (245)
	High school graduate or more	No	20 (56)	4 (47)	3 (36)	17 (52)
		Yes	3 (31)	2 (80)	0 (105)	2 (127)
Post high school training or college.	Less than high school graduate	No	11 (18)	10 (39)	5 (20)	11 (27)
		Yes	8 (13)	2 (49)	0 (73)	4 (85)
	High school graduate or more	No	13 (39)	6 (48)	0 (28)	8 (36)
		Yes	3 (27)	0 (72)	0 (77)	0 (119)
	Total	No	14 (375)	8 (558)	7 (313)	11 (372)
		Yes	5 (219)	2 (738)	1 (876)	2 (1,025)

Table 6.8.—*Percent of 9th grade Negro students choosing an all-Negro school, by parents' education, school average of parents' education, proportion white classmates last year, and whether student has a white friend; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Close white friends	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	No	21 (259)	20 (229)	19 (48)	34 (62)
		Yes	3 (299)	4 (436)	4 (157)	4 (181)
	High school graduate or more	No	20 (112)	27 (66)	18 (27)	28 (32)
		Yes	3 (98)	5 (124)	2 (100)	7 (155)
High school graduate or more	Less than high school graduate	No	25 (435)	24 (340)	27 (70)	24 (112)
		Yes	3 (640)	4 (779)	4 (352)	4 (402)
	High school graduate or more	No	22 (316)	18 (152)	14 (50)	20 (82)
		Yes	4 (343)	3 (344)	2 (222)	2 (414)
	Total	No	23 (1, 122)	22 (787)	20 (195)	25 (288)
		Yes	3 (1, 380)	4 (1, 683)	3 (831)	4 (989)

TABLE 6.9.—*Average verbal achievement of 9th grade Negro students, by parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, proportion white classmates last year, and whether the student has a white friend; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Close white friends	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	No	255. 33 (259)	257. 45 (229)	258. 56 (48)	259. 14 (62)
		Yes	254. 75 (299)	258. 61 (436)	257. 92 (157)	261. 83 (181)
	High school graduate or more.	No	262. 34 (112)	264. 27 (66)	261. 33 (27)	262. 50 (32)
		Yes	257. 19 (98)	259. 80 (124)	262. 18 (100)	267. 50 (155)
High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate.	No	255. 53 (435)	257. 59 (340)	256. 51 (70)	258. 70 (112)
		Yes	255. 11 (631)	257. 62 (779)	258. 31 (352)	261. 07 (402)
	High school graduate or more.	No	262. 76 (316)	264. 08 (152)	263. 66 (50)	269. 55 (82)
		Yes	260. 69 (343)	264. 05 (344)	264. 07 (222)	270. 35 (414)
	Total	No	258. 20 (1,122)	259. 36 (787)	259. 52 (195)	262. 31 (288)
		Yes	256. 61 (1,371)	259. 35 (1,683)	260. 24 (831)	265. 39 (1,152)

TABLE 6.10.—*Percent of 9th grade Negro students definitely planning to go to college, and whether the student has a white friend, by parents' education, average parents' education of the students in the school, and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Close white friends	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	Yes	37 (299)	32 (436)	31 (157)	34 (181)
		No	29 (259)	26 (229)	25 (48)	27 (62)
	High school graduate or more	Yes	31 (98)	33 (124)	32 (100)	35 (155)
		No	31 (112)	30 (66)	22 (27)	31 (32)
High school graduate or more	Less than high school graduate	Yes	32 (640)	35 (779)	41 (352)	46 (402)
		No	36 (435)	29 (340)	31 (70)	38 (112)
	High school graduate or more	Yes	44 (343)	49 (344)	50 (222)	59 (414)
		No	46 (316)	41 (152)	32 (50)	46 (82)

Table 6.11.—*Percent of 12th grade Negro students having no white friends by membership in extra-curricular activities and proportion white classmates*

Membership in activity	Proportion white classmates last year			
	None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Student council:				
Yes	54 (84)	29 (195)	20 (169)	21 (224)
No	64 (491)	41 (998)	26 (976)	26 (1, 111)
None in the school	74 (19)	36 (14)	25 (20)	30 (30)
Debate team:				
Yes, active	56 (162)	37 (320)	20 (338)	22 (453)
Yes, not active	58 (33)	41 (91)	30 (60)	17 (88)
No	66 (379)	39 (777)	27 (755)	28 (808)
None in the school	70 (20)	47 (19)	8 (12)	25 (16)
Hobby clubs:				
Yes, active	47 (111)	29 (210)	19 (196)	20 (262)
Yes, not active	45 (29)	26 (61)	21 (47)	18 (60)
No	69 (405)	41 (888)	26 (876)	27 (969)
None in the school	59 (49)	56 (48)	30 (46)	19 (74)
Athletic team:				
Yes	51 (142)	35 (387)	21 (409)	20 (563)
No	67 (408)	41 (802)	27 (742)	29 (787)
None in the school	66 (44)	22 (18)	29 (14)	13 (15)

Table 6.12.—*Percent of Negro students having close white friends by parents' education, average parents' education of students in the school, and proportion white classmates*

Grade	Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
9	Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	53 (558)	66 (665)	77 (205)	74 (243)
		High school graduate or more	47 (210)	65 (190)	79 (127)	82 (187)
	High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	60 (1, 075)	70 (1, 119)	83 (422)	78 (514)
		High school graduate or more	52 (659)	69 (496)	82 (272)	83 (496)
		Total	54 (2, 520)	68 (2, 470)	81 (1, 026)	77 (1, 277)
12	Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	38 (167)	62 (410)	74 (344)	75 (385)
		High school graduate or more	42 (111)	36 (220)	65 (211)	65 (246)
	High school graduate or more.	Less than high school graduate	31 (163)	60 (419)	78 (388)	76 (432)
		High school graduate or more	38 (153)	62 (247)	74 (246)	74 (334)
		Total	37 (594)	57 (1, 296)	74 (1, 189)	73 (1, 397)

7.0 TABULATIONS FOR NEGRO STUDENTS WHOSE SCHOOLS DIFFER IN THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM AND STAFF; METROPOLITAN NORTHEAST[1]

TABLE 7.1.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, types of science laboratories and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Types of science laboratories[2]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low)	None to 2 (1)	268.9 (194)	269.2 (80)	267.4 (48)
		3 (2)	265.2 (383)	268.9 (264)	274.7 (337)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	None to 2 (3)	----	----	----
		3 (4)	272.5 (242)	274.7 (187)	279.0 (214)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low)	None to 2 (5)	267.4 (134)	265.9 (60)	270.0 (46)
		3 (6)	264.6 (329)	268.3 (235)	274.6 (274)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	None to 2 (7)	----	----	----
		3 (8)	273.5 (214)	274.8 (141)	280.5 (179)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low)	None to 2 (9)	268.0 (37)	275.5 (24)	273.7 (14)
		3 (10)	269.6 (82)	274.5 (69)	280.9 (98)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	None to 2 (11)	----	----	----
		3 (12)	283.2 (186)	281.8 (105)	288.3 (152)

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[1] For Tables 7.1–7.3, dashes in table represent zero students in that cell; averages and proportions are not listed when three or less students are in that cell.

[2] The number of the following types of science laboratories in the school: biology, chemistry, physics.

TABLE 7.2.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, principal: Comprehensive curriculum, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Principal: Comprehensive curriculum[1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low)	Low (1)	268.0 (162)	263.6 (20)	268.5 (55)
		Medium (2)	268.7 (150)	271.2 (142)	274.6 (153)
		High (3)	264.1 (265)	267.7 (182)	274.7 (177)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (4)	(1)	-----------	297.5 (12)
		Medium (5)	273.2 (171)	276.2 (88)	277.8 (112)
		High (6)	270.4 (70)	273.3 (99)	277.9 (90)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low)	Low (7)	267.1 (143)	269.1 (46)	271.2 (36)
		Medium (8)	267.1 (127)	268.1 (92)	274.1 (135)
		High (9)	263.2 (193)	267.3 (157)	274.6 (149)
	High school graduate or more (high)	Low (10)	-----------	-----------	293.2 (8)
		Medium (11)	275.2 (159)	276.9 (49)	279.3 (93)
		High (12)	268.5 (55)	273.8 (92)	280.5 (78)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low)	Low (13)	269.8 (42)	271.3 (15)	280.3 (14)
		Medium (14)	269.8 (37)	275.1 (47)	279.9 (51)
		High (15)	267.7 (40)	275.9 (31)	280.0 (47)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (16)	(2)	-----------	300.1 (15)
		Medium (17)	285.2 (151)	283.8 (44)	289.0 (84)
		High (18)	273.2 (33)	280.4 (61)	285.2 (56)

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[1] Measure is the percentage of six kinds of curriculum available in the school (college preparatory, commercial, general, vocational, agriculture, and vocational arts).

Table 7. 3.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, percent extracurricular activities, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast.*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Percent extracurricular activities [1]	Proporation white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low)	30–59 (1)	267.8 (178)	263.1 (24)	271.1 (83)
		60–79 (2)	266.2 (380)	270.4 (265)	274.6 (231)
		80–100 (3)	258.3 (19)	264.6 (55)	274.3 (71)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	30–59 (4)	---	---	---
		60–79 (5)	266.4 (34)	278.3 (65)	280.4 (118)
		80–100 (6)	273.5 (208)	272.8 (122)	277.2 (96)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low)	30–59 (7)	267.0 (153)	268.2 (51)	271.4 (50)
		60–79 (8)	264.9 (284)	268.6 (194)	274.8 (200)
		80–100 (9)	262.7 (26)	264.6 (50)	273.3 (70)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	30–59 (10)	---	---	---
		60–79 (11)	267.9 (20)	279.2 (31)	279.7 (83)
		80–100 (12)	274.1 (194)	273.6 (110)	281.1 (96)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low)	30–59 (13)	270.1 (45)	271.0 (17)	282.4 (19)
		60–79 (14)	268.6 (69)	275.9 (67)	278.0 (59)
		80–100 (15)	266.0 (5)	273.3 (9)	282.0 (34)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	30–59 (16)	---	---	---
		60–79 (17)	283.4 (11)	283.6 (22)	289.5 (74)
		80–100 (18)	283.2 (175)	281.4 (83)	288.0 (81)

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[1] Percentage of 19 extracurricular activities that are available in the school.

Table 7.4.—*Average verbal achievement test scores, 12th grade Negroes, by school quality index, proportion white classmates, parents' education and school average of parents' education*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	School quality index[1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school (low).	Less than high school graduate (low)	Low	265. 16 (98)	263. 46 (63)	269. 98 (84)
		Medium	266. 41 (361)	269. 64 (199)	274. 93 (152)
		High	267. 47 (118)	271. 43 (82)	274. 78 (149)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low	270. 37 (65)	273. 45 (98)	278. 27 (71)
		Medium	274. 80 (148)	269. 76 (25)	275. 23 (44)
		High	265. 52 (29)	278. 53 (64)	281. 12 (99)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low)	Low	264. 47 (70)	263. 35 (65)	271. 30 (74)
		Medium	265. 07 (257)	268. 43 (152)	274. 62 (128)
		High	266. 68 (136)	270. 41 (78)	274. 92 (118)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low	268. 47 (55)	274. 09 (90)	281. 10 (63)
		Medium	276. 27 (139)	270. 32 (22)	280. 21 (48)
		High	267. 85 (20)	280. 62 (29)	280. 06 (68)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low)	Low	264. 83 (12)	273. 80 (10)	278. 06 (34)
		Medium	268. 42 (65)	276. 16 (45)	280. 03 (31)
		High	271. 36 (42)	273. 32 (38)	281. 32 (47)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low	273. 26 (34)	280. 39 (61)	285. 17 (47)
		Medium	285. 54 (141)	284. 09 (22)	291. 61 (46)
		High	283. 45 (11)	283. 59 (22)	289. 23 (62)

[1] See section 1.5 for discussion of the construction of this index.

TABLE 7.5.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, accelerated curriculum, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Accelerated curriculum [1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	All academic subjects (1)	271.0 (101)	270.9 (69)	275.3 (56)
		Several subjects (2)	258.1 (21)	267.0 (69)	274.6 (101)
		1 or 2 subjects (3)	264.2 (46)	271.3 (66)	276.8 (53)
		No (4)	266.0 (409)	267.8 (140)	271.9 (175)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	All academic subjects (5)	272.0 (21)	266.6 (10)	275.8 (57)
		Several subjects (6)	273.2 (209)	275.9 (158)	280.2 (128)
		1 or 2 subjects (7)	259.7 (10)	269.1 (19)	279.8 (29)
		No (8)	(2)	-----------	-----------
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	All academic subjects (9)	267.8 (79)	269.2 (40)	272.2 (50)
		Several subjects (10)	259.0 (26)	264.7 (58)	272.9 (81)
		1 or 2 subjects (11)	265.0 (37)	269.4 (54)	276.7 (48)
		No (12)	265.4 (321)	268.2 (143)	274.3 (141)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	All academic subjects (13)	264.8 (11)	272.0 (4)	278.1 (40)
		Several subjects (14)	274.0 (195)	275.3 (124)	282.2 (114)
		1 or 2 subjects (15)	267.4 (7)	271.6 (13)	276.2 (25)
		No (16)	(1)	-----------	-----------
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	All academic subjects (17)	269.5 (32)	276.0 (21)	279.3 (12)
		Several subjects (18)	267.6 (8)	273.4 (14)	280.7 (34)
		1 or 2 subjects (19)	264.0 (7)	278.3 (12)	283.5 (18)
		No (20)	269.6 (72)	273.7 (46)	278.3 (48)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	All academic subjects (21)	276.2 (9)	(2)	290.0 (44)
		Several subjects (22)	283.5 (175)	282.5 (101)	288.2 (100)
		1 or 2 subjects (23)	(2)	(2)	288.0 (10)
		No (24)	-----------	-----------	(1)

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[1] Responses are to principal's questionnaire item, "Does your school provide an accelerated curriculum?"

TABLE 7.6.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, library volumes/students, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of student)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Library volumes/student	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	0–1 (1)	268. 7 (145)	268. 5 (13)	275. 5 (47)
		2–4 (2)	266. 1 (179)	268. 9 (245)	273. 9 (241)
		5–9 (3)	265. 3 (232)	269. 8 (79)	272. 6 (62)
		10–19 (4)	264. 8 (16)	260. 4 (6)	274. 8 (31)
	High school graduate or more	0–1 (5)	274. 0 (188)	273. 2 (78)	277. 5 (33)
		2–4 (6)	265. 4 (29)	278. 9 (71)	278. 5 (113)
		5–9 (7)	270. 6 (24)	269. 8 (38)	280. 6 (64)
		10–19 (8)	(1)	-----------	277. 2 (4)
High school graduate or more	Less than high school graduate	0–1 (9)	268. 4 (165)	270. 4 (35)	277. 2 (42)
		2–4 (10)	265. 9 (204)	269. 7 (259)	276. 1 (294)
		5–9 (11)	264. 7 (189)	268. 6 (79)	272. 7 (57)
		10–19 (12)	266. 8 (16)	267. 5 (13)	274. 5 (37)
	High school graduate or more	0–1 (13)	278. 5 (348)	277. 4 (132)	278. 3 (51)
		2–4 (14)	267. 9 (21)	280. 3 (61)	283. 7 (44)
		5–9 (15)	278. 8 (29)	275. 8 (52)	287. 3 (127)
		10–19 (16)	(2)	(1)	285. 6 (12)

TABLE 7.7.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's mother's education, average parents' education of students in high school, teacher quality index, pupil/teacher ratio, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's mother's education	School average: parents' education	Teacher quality index [1]	Pupil/teacher ratio	Proportion white classmates last year		
				Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
High school graduate or less	Low	Low	10–19	265. 8 (181)	267. 8 (185)	272. 0 (148)
			20–29	264. 2 (384)	267. 0 (207)	274. 8 (266)
		High	10–19	(1)	280. 8 (7)	276. 5 (43)
			20–29	267. 7 (359)	269. 9 (228)	274. 1 (232)
	High	Low	10–19	276. 3 (11)	----------	280. 2 (17)
			20–29	269. 0 (117)	273. 9 (201)	280. 2 (130)
		High	10–19	265. 2 (19)	270. 8 (27)	277. 5 (57)
			20–29	275. 2 (321)	277. 3 (104)	279. 2 (188)
More than high school graduate	Low	Low	10–19	262. 9 (24)	274. 7 (21)	274. 0 (25)
			20–29	269. 9 (42)	276. 2 (34)	278. 0 (51)
		High	10–19	(1)	283. 8 (4)	290. 1 (14)
			20–29	269. 9 (63)	271. 0 (43)	280. 1 (32)
	High	Low	10–19	----------	----------	295. 0 (11)
			20–29	272. 2 (26)	280. 2 (51)	284. 0 (32)
		High	10–19	(1)	273. 0 (4)	290. 6 (19)
			20–29	284. 8 (147)	285. 2 (46)	291. 1 (90)

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[1] See sec. 1.5 for discussion of the construction of this index.

TABLE 7.8.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in this school, teacher average earned degree, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average earned degree [1]		Proportion white classmates last year		
				Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	Low	(1)	264.7 (203)	267.5 (215)	274.1 (275)
		High	(2)	267.3 (374)	271.3 (129)	273.1 (110)
	High school graduate or more	Low	(3)	271.0 (74)	276.8 (135)	280.9 (107)
		High	(4)	273.2 (168)	269.2 (51)	277.0 (107)
High school graduate	Less than high school graduate	Low	(5)	264.2 (151)	266.6 (191)	273.8 (217)
		High	(6)	266.0 (312)	270.0 (104)	274.2 (103)
	High school graduate or more	Low	(7)	269.2 (57)	275.7 (106)	282.2 (83)
		High	(8)	275.0 (157)	272.3 (35)	278.0 (96)
More than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	Low	(9)	265.1 (35)	276.7 (40)	280.1 (71)
		High	(10)	270.8 (84)	273.2 (53)	279.7 (41)
	High school graduate or more	Low	(11)	273.4 (34)	282.1 (79)	285.4 (59)
		High	(12)	285.3 (152)	281.0 (26)	290.7 (96)

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[1] Average based on teacher questionnaire item: "What is the highest earned college degree you hold? Do not report honorary degrees."

TABLE 7.9.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: earned degree, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class of school)	Average earned degree [1]	Proportion white classmates last year: None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	Very low	249. 6 (33)	258. 3 (101)	254. 5 (18)	259. 4 (10)
		Low	256. 6 (137)	257. 8 (54)	257. 1 (34)	263. 0 (86)
		Medium	254. 5 (229)	257. 5 (241)	258. 2 (35)	260. 3 (44)
		High	256. 5 (128)	259. 3 (197)	260. 1 (83)	261. 3 (81)
		Very high	252. 0 (31)	257. 9 (72)	256. 1 (35)	255. 8 (22)
	High school graduate or more.	Very low	262. 4 (8)	257. 8 (6)	255. 7 (11)	263. 9 (16)
		Low	258. 0 (50)	261. 6 (119)	263. 0 (82)	268. 0 (71)
		Medium	260. 7 (134)	262. 6 (45)	260. 6 (16)	263. 3 (32)
		High	261. 3 (12)	253. 2 (9)	260. 3 (10)	265. 9 (60)
		Very high	260. 3 (6)	262. 2 (11)	265. 1 (8)	279. 4 (8)
High school graduate	Less than high school graduate.	Very low	249. 0 (39)	257. 4 (85)	259. 4 (18)	256. 6 (18)
		Low	258. 0 (170)	253. 8 (54)	256. 6 (47)	258. 8 (95)
		Medium	254. 1 (376)	255. 9 (360)	254. 9 (65)	260. 6 (93)
		High	255. 5 (262)	258. 6 (367)	258. 9 (161)	260. 3 (171)
		Very high	252. 5 (75)	258. 2 (90)	255. 2 (49)	258. 7 (32)
	High school graduate or more.	Very low	259. 0 (15)	253. 1 (13)	257. 9 (17)	271. 4 (24)
		Low	260. 8 (113)	260. 6 (199)	263. 0 (100)	265. 1 (80)
		Medium	258. 7 (309)	260. 8 (82)	260. 9 (30)	264. 0 (74)
		High	262. 2 (23)	259. 4 (15)	260. 8 (22)	264. 4 (89)
		Very high	261. 7 (10)	264. 4 (19)	263. 9 (17)	282. 5 (17)
More than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	Very low	246. 3 (7)	261. 7 (15)	262. 4 (5)	(3)
		Low	261. 4 (31)	257. 9 (11)	258. 9 (7)	263. 1 (22)
		Medium	255. 6 (53)	257. 6 (62)	255. 2 (21)	263. 4 (22)
		High	258. 6 (56)	262. 9 (64)	263. 6 (45)	265. 4 (51)
		Very high	262. 5 (6)	260. 2 (11)	264. 5 (4)	258. 9 (7)
	High school graduate or more.	Very low	260. 8 (6)	264. 5 (6)	260. 9 (9)	275. 6 (21)
		Low	268. 8 (74)	271. 6 (86)	268. 0 (29)	274. 3 (52)
		Medium	265. 5 (94)	270. 9 (50)	270. 2 (20)	271. 8 (49)
		High	273. 0 (7)	261. 4 (9)	259. 5 (10)	276. 3 (59)
		Very high	272. 6 (8)	274. 6 (17)	274. 9 (18)	280. 6 (32)

[1] These five categories are almost entirely based upon a range in average teacher education between bachelor's degree and slightly below master's degree. The few cases below bachelor's degree are averaged with the lowest category; the few cases above the master's degree are averaged with the highest category.

TABLE 7.10.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, teacher average: percent academic majors, and proportion white class mates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of student)	School average: Parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: Percent academic major [1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	10–49 (1)	264.7 (338)	267.2 (193)	273.6 (235)
		50–59 (2)	268.7 (157)	271.4 (140)	273.9 (145)
		60–79 (3)	269.3 (82)	267.4 (11)	276.6 (5)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	10–49 (4)	269.5 (56)	273.6 (73)	278.4 (28)
		50–59 (5)	273.6 (165)	270.6 (60)	275.5 (107)
		60–79 (6)	272.1 (21)	280.7 (54)	283.9 (79)
High school graduate (medium)	Less than high school graduate (low).	10–49 (7)	263.7 (23)	267.0 (177)	273.9 (186)
		50–59 (8)	266.2 (131)	268.1 (93)	274.1 (126)
		60–79 (9)	268.4 (101)	272.6 (25)	272.2 (8)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	10–49 (10)	268.7 (51)	274.8 (69)	276.0 (20)
		50–59 (11)	275.2 (150)	271.1 (47)	280.4 (100)
		60–79 (12)	271.9 (13)	282.0 (25)	282.0 (59)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (medium to high).	10–49 (13)	266.9 (47)	277.0 (35)	280.8 (59)
		50–59 (14)	270.0 (38)	275.2 (48)	278.2 (50)
		60–79 (15)	271.1 (34)	264.8 (10)	(3)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	10–49 (16)	274.8 (32)	280.3 (59)	286.7 (20)
		50–59 (17)	285.1 (145)	282.1 (26)	287.6 (73)
		60–79 (18)	282.8 (8)	286.2 (20)	290.6 (62)

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[1] Percent based on item: "What was your major field of study in undergraduate school? If you had two majors, mark the one in which you took the most work."

Table 7.11.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, teacher average: percent academic major, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent academic major	Proportion white classmates last year: None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–49 (1)	254.27 (70)	256.99 (94)	255.71 (31)	263.83 (23)
		50–59 (2)	253.36 (294)	257.72 (402)	257.70 (111)	260.68 (143)
		60–89 (3)	257.82 (194)	260.06 (169)	259.90 (63)	261.22 (77)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (4)	259.60 (5)	258.62 (8)	261.50 (10)	264.90 (29)
		50–59 (5)	257.49 (86)	259.46 (107)	263.03 (98)	267.44 (100)
		60–89 (6)	262.13 (119)	264.35 (75)	257.00 (19)	266.16 (58)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–49 (7)	253.86 (90)	255.47 (124)	256.06 (35)	260.67 (39)
		50–59 (8)	253.96 (440)	255.45 (486)	256.08 (182)	258.41 (216)
		60–89 (9)	256.10 (392)	260.19 (346)	259.44 (123)	261.34 (154)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (10)	262.44 (9)	(3)	259.91 (11)	267.00 (29)
		50–59 (11)	255.24 (221)	257.56 (180)	262.96 (134)	264.04 (152)
		60–89 (12)	263.22 (240)	264.33 (145)	259.61 (41)	268.99 (102)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–49 (13)	258.00 (11)	259.73 (11)	263.00 (5)	263.17 (6)
		50–59 (14)	256.37 (79)	258.48 (88)	258.56 (36)	265.18 (50)
		60–89 (15)	259.41 (63)	262.70 (64)	263.00 (41)	262.49 (49)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (16)	(2)	275.86 (7)	(1)	269.57 (7)
		50–59 (17)	259.49 (37)	262.73 (63)	269.68 (68)	275.82 (120)
		70–89 (18)	269.29 (150)	275.83 (98)	263.47 (17)	275.91 (86)

Table 7.12.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: percent want to teach here, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent want to teach here[1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–39------(1)	266.76 (82)	270.43 (81)	273.33 (95)
		40–49-----(2)	266.54 (372)	269.56 (90)	272.50 (66)
		50–59-----(3)	268.49 (89)	267.39 (99)	274.43 (98)
		60–69-----(4)	258.82 (33)	268.59 (74)	274.54 (116)
		70–100----(5)	(1)	----------	271.70 (10)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–39------(6)	267.00 (4)	(1)	276.62 (16)
		40–49-----(7)	264.12 (16)	266.60 (10)	271.43 (35)
		50–59-----(8)	272.00 (204)	272.66 (121)	279.38 (79)
		60–69-----(9)	282.43 (7)	(1)	275.65 (26)
		70–100---(10)	271.18 (11)	281.07 (54)	285.07 (58)
High school graduate (medium)	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–39-----(11)	265.96 (78)	266.83 (66)	275.57 (87)
		40–49----(12)	265.79 (281)	268.26 (91)	271.04 (50)
		50–59----(13)	265.05 (79)	267.51 (74)	273.61 (79)
		60–69----(14)	260.08 (24)	268.62 (64)	274.58 (95)
		70–100---(15)	(1)	----------	271.22 (9)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–39-----(16)	----------	(2)	278.64 (14)
		40–49----(17)	269.20 (10)	272.00 (4)	274.05 (21)
		50–59----(18)	273.69 (195)	274.15 (102)	281.22 (73)
		60–69----(19)	(3)	----------	275.88 (25)
		70–100---(20)	271.50 (6)	278.30 (33)	285.24 (46)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–39-----(21)	266.07 (14)	275.17 (29)	277.42 (33)
		40–49----(22)	269.01 (71)	272.61 (23)	272.64 (11)
		50–59----(23)	271.00 (27)	274.92 (24)	281.30 (33)
		60–69----(24)	268.57 (7)	276.65 (17)	283.90 (29)
		70–100---(25)	----------	----------	281.17 (6)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–39-----(26)	----------	----------	283.67 (6)
		40–49----(27)	280.71 (7)	(3)	286.65 (20)
		50–59----(28)	283.39 (165)	279.83 (65)	285.48 (42)
		60–69----(29)	272.75 (4)	----------	287.76 (25)
		70–100---(30)	285.40 (10)	286.38 (37)	292.42 (62)

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[1] Percent of responding teachers answering "no" to the question: "If you could choose, would you be a faculty member in some other school rather than this one?"

Table 7.13.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: percent want to teach here, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent want to teach here	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–29 (1)	253. 68 (75)	260. 10 (117)	258. 66 (32)	258. 82 (34)
		30–39 (2)	252. 86 (194)	256. 82 (287)	258. 03 (63)	261. 86 (69)
		40–49 (3)	255. 57 (169)	258. 09 (147)	258. 18 (50)	262. 33 (72)
		50–59 (4)	257. 98 (90)	259. 58 (82)	256. 16 (43)	259. 32 (47)
		60–89 (5)	260. 43 (30)	260. 91 (32)	261. 70 (17)	262. 67 (21)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–29 (6)	260. 00 (38)	264. 59 (46)	254. 47 (17)	262. 25 (24)
		30–39 (7)	(2)	261. 75 (8)	263. 62 (21)	277. 62 (13)
		40–49 (8)	260. 42 (12)	252. 25 (16)	256. 71 (21)	263. 00 (70)
		50–59 (9)	260. 78 (82)	260. 68 (92)	263. 63 (51)	269. 47 (53)
		60–89 (10)	259. 76 (76)	263. 32 (28)	269. 24 (17)	269. 18 (27)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–29 (11)	253. 30 (226)	257. 49 (200)	256. 66 (83)	257. 51 (80)
		30–39 (12)	253. 33 (269)	254. 56 (378)	256. 52 (97)	257. 92 (133)
		40–49 (13)	254. 79 (283)	260. 45 (264)	258. 50 (89)	258. 84 (115)
		50–59 (14)	259. 98 (102)	255. 37 (73)	255. 51 (47)	265. 64 (61)
		60–89 (15)	261. 07 (42)	261. 63 (41)	261. 54 (24)	267. 65 (20)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–29 (16)	261. 76 (99)	263. 24 (114)	258. 70 (20)	260. 66 (50)
		30–39 (17)	(1)	257. 50 (6)	269. 23 (22)	268. 64 (11)
		40–49 (18)	258. 00 (23)	255. 96 (23)	258. 05 (39)	264. 89 (81)
		50–59 (19)	261. 40 (154)	259. 29 (134)	261. 65 (66)	265. 99 (76)
		60–89 (20)	256. 86 (193)	260. 27 (51)	264. 33 (39)	271. 62 (65)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–29 (21)	257. 15 (34)	260. 09 (43)	259. 89 (28)	264. 76 (25)
		30–39 (22)	253. 98 (46)	257. 57 (53)	259. 17 (24)	262. 44 (32)
		40–49 (23)	259. 52 (31)	263. 65 (10)	263. 35 (20)	264. 26 (23)
		50–59 (24)	259. 89 (28)	259. 47 (15)	260. 00 (7)	265. 44 (16)
		60–89 (25)	263. 28 (14)	261. 92 (12)	(3)	262. 00 (9)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–29 (26)	268. 64 (74)	275. 30 (64)	271. 83 (6)	265. 52 (23)
		30–39 (27)	(1)	267. 50 (4)	269. 78 (9)	281. 56 (16)
		40–49 (28)	266. 83 (6)	258. 45 (11)	259. 13 (15)	274. 43 (56)
		50–59 (29)	268. 53 (72)	267. 40 (42)	264. 56 (18)	278. 10 (42)
		60–89 (30)	261. 39 (36)	271. 30 (47)	272. 60 (38)	277. 01 (76)

TABLE 7.14.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: years experience, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: years experience[1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–4 (1)	270.2 (38)	270.2 (25)	272.2 (24)
		5–9 (2)	265.4 (468)	268.4 (273)	273.5 (301)
		10 or more (3)	271.1 (71)	271.5 (46)	276.0 (60)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–4 (4)	277.1 (10)	(1)	276.2 (16)
		5–9 (5)	272.2 (231)	274.8 (186)	278.0 (187)
		10 or more (6)	(1)	----------	298.8 (11)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–4 (7)	266.9 (32)	262.9 (17)	271.8 (26)
		5–9 (8)	265.0 (377)	267.4 (248)	273.8 (257)
		10 or more (9)	267.5 (54)	274.7 (30)	276.7 (37)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–4 (10)	(3)	(2)	273.0 (12)
		5–9 (11)	273.2 (211)	275.1 (139)	280.3 (157)
		10 or more (12)	----------	----------	292.5 (10)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–4 (13)	263.1 (10)	276.6 (7)	267.7 (7)
		5–9 (14)	269.0 (86)	273.6 (67)	279.2 (90)
		10 or more (15)	272.0 (23)	278.0 (19)	290.3 (15)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–4 (16)	(3)	----------	288.5 (6)
		5–9 (17)	283.2 (182)	281.8 (105)	287.5 (135)
		10 or more (18)	(1)	----------	300.1 (14)

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[1] Average based on item: "As of June 1965, what was the *total number of years* of full-time teaching experience you have had? (Consider counseling as teaching experience.)"

TABLE 7.15.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 9th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: years experience, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: years experience	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	1–4 ------ (1)	253.47 (188)	258.80 (284)	258.55 (106)	262.02 (133)
		5–9 ------ (2)	255.89 (358)	257.57 (321)	258.64 (67)	260.92 (95)
		10–14 ---- (3)	253.58 (12)	258.87 (60)	255.34 (32)	255.00 (15)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1–4 ------ (4)	258.21 (43)	262.72 (57)	263.88 (56)	276.22 (59)
		5–9 ------ (5)	260.75 (160)	260.49 (117)	259.45 (60)	265.18 (117)
		10–14 ---- (6)	259.00 (7)	262.81 (16)	266.45 (11)	279.18 (11)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	1–4 ------ (7)	253.70 (380)	258.29 (451)	257.79 (197)	259.87 (259)
		5–9 ------ (8)	255.78 (529)	256.15 (457)	257.41 (111)	259.34 (136)
		10–14 ---- (9)	251.46 (13)	256.27 (48)	253.78 (32)	260.93 (14)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1–4 ------ (10)	260.75 (109)	261.60 (108)	267.33 (45)	260.10 (80)
		5–9 ------ (11)	258.90 (345)	259.56 (200)	259.68 (122)	267.08 (177)
		10–14 ---- (12)	262.62 (16)	264.85 (20)	264.63 (19)	278.15 (26)
More than high school graduate (medium to high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	1–4 ------ (13)	255.53 (57)	261.32 (88)	261.55 (58)	264.41 (71)
		5–9 ------ (14)	259.15 (95)	258.97 (68)	259.57 (21)	263.28 (32)
		10–14 ---- (15)	(1)	258.57 (7)	(3)	(2)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	1–4 ------ (16)	268.73 (78)	273.89 (72)	267.29 (17)	275.89 (56)
		5–9 ------ (17)	265.84 (103)	266.58 (72)	266.16 (51)	274.00 (126)
		10–14 ---- (18)	270.62 (8)	275.00 (24)	274.94 (18)	281.90 (31)

Table 7.16—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher quality index, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher quality index[1]	Proportion white classmates last year: Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	Low	265.6 (393)	268.6 (217)	273.3 (225)
		High	268.1 (184)	269.6 (127)	274.4 (160)
	High school graduate or more	Low	268.6 (67)	273.3 (99)	278.9 (79)
		High	274.0 (175)	276.2 (88)	279.0 (135)
High school graduate	Less than high school graduate	Low	264.6 (286)	266.1 (182)	273.7 (200)
		High	266.8 (177)	270.6 (113)	274.4 (120)
	High school graduate or more	Low	269.0 (55)	273.8 (92)	281.1 (69)
		High	275.0 (159)	276.9 (49)	280.0 (110)
More than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	Low	266.8 (56)	275.7 (51)	277.4 (71)
		High	271.2 (63)	273.5 (42)	284.4 (41)
	High school graduate or more	Low	274.8 (32)	280.4 (61)	287.0 (46)
		High	284.9 (154)	283.8 (44)	289.4 (109)

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[1] See section 1.5 for discussion of the construction of this index.

TABLE 7.17.—*Average verbal achievement test scores, 9th grade Negroes by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher quality index, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: Parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher quality index	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low	253.3 (367)	257.6 (461)	256.9 (111)	261.1 (162)
		High	258.2 (191)	259.6 (204)	259.5 (94)	261.2 (81)
	High school graduate or more (high).	Low	258.2 (54)	261.4 (122)	262.1 (92)	266.8 (95)
		High	260.8 (156)	261.2 (68)	261.8 (35)	266.5 (92)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low	253.8 (633)	255.5 (648)	256.0 (202)	257.7 (287)
		High	257.0 (289)	260.7 (308)	259.2 (138)	264.4 (122)
	High school graduate or more (high).	Low	260.0 (126)	260.2 (211)	262.8 (106)	262.8 (116)
		High	259.3 (344)	261.1 (117)	261.0 (80)	268.4 (167)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low	256.2 (102)	258.9 (107)	258.1 (51)	262.9 (66)
		High	260.8 (51)	262.8 (56)	265.9 (31)	265.3 (39)
	High school graduate or more (high).	Low	268.7 (78)	271.2 (88)	266.8 (32)	273.8 (66)
		High	266.2 (111)	270.6 (80)	269.0 (54)	276.3 (148)

Table 7.18.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: vocabulary test scores and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average:[1] vocabulary test score	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
High school graduate or less.	Less than high school graduate	17.0–22.9	267.2 (72)	261.4 (56)	267.9 (125)	275.2 (160)
		23.0–23.9	267.6 (16)	270.4 (140)	270.4 (56)	269.8 (19)
		24.0–24.4	259.8 (63)	267.4 (172)	270.5 (79)	271.5 (122)
		24.5–24.9	263.2 (15)	264.8 (42)	267.8 (81)	273.8 (67)
		25.0–26.9	(1)	------------	(3)	280.9 (17)
	High school graduate or more	17.0–22.9	274.3 (82)	276.9 (57)	267.9 (7)	276.7 (29)
		23.0–23.9	272.8 (10)	264.5 (6)	269.5 (18)	278.5 (21)
		24.0–24.4	268.7 (15)	267.8 (60)	272.8 (108)	275.9 (101)
		24.5–24.9	(2)	------------	------------	(3)
		25.0–26.9	(2)	268.6 (8)	281.1 (54)	285.5 (60)
More than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate	77.0–22.9	269.0 (50)	261.1 (59)	268.7 (130)	276.8 (169)
		23.0–23.9	268.4 (30)	268.5 (186)	272.6 (76)	271.6 (23)
		24.0–24.4	263.3 (62)	265.9 (138)	269.3 (102)	274.5 (145)
		24.5–24.9	262.4 (21)	265.5 (36)	268.1 (80)	274.3 (78)
		25.0–26.9	------------	------------	------------	282.5 (17)
	High school graduate or more	17.0–22.9	278.5 (116)	282.8 (153)	272.7 (6)	281.9 (42)
		23.0–23.9	271.9 (7)	275.7 (7)	271.8 (12)	282.8 (33)
		24.0–24.4	271.0 (25)	270.0 (76)	276.4 (158)	281.2 (134)
		24.5–24.9	------------	------------	------------	283.6 (5)
		25.0–26.9	291.2 (5)	275.4 (11)	282.6 (70)	289.0 (120)

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[1] Average score on a 30-item voluntary vocabulary test with possible range of scores from 00 to 30.

TABLE 7.19.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: mother's education, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: mother's education [1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Grade school---------(1)	269.18 (168)	268.74 (68)	271.39 (89)
		Some high school-----(2)	265.28 (406)	268.98 (276)	274.58 (278)
		High school or more--(3)	(3)	-------------	273.50 (18)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Grade school---------(4)	(1)	-------------	272.12 (8)
		Some high school-----(5)	268.04 (90)	272.24 (128)	278.25 (161)
		High school or more--(6)	275.30 (151)	280.02 (59)	282.73 (45)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Grade school---------(7)	267.38 (167)	270.52 (73)	274.48 (63)
		Some high school-----(8)	264.40 (293)	266.82 (217)	273.54 (242)
		High school or more--(9)	(3)	272.60 (5)	278.53 (15)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Grade school--------(10)	(1)	-------------	275.86 (7)
		Some high school----(11)	267.97 (71)	273.71 (107)	279.51 (130)
		High school or more--(12)	276.39 (142)	278.41 (34)	284.19 (42)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Grade school--------(13)	270.76 (58)	273.57 (30)	282.61 (18)
		Some high school----(14)	267.51 (61)	275.27 (62)	279.48 (90)
		High school or more--(15)	-------------	(1)	279.25 (4)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Grade school--------(16)	(1)	-------------	283.75 (4)
		Some high school----(17)	275.32 (40)	279.20 (64)	288.10 (107)
		High school or more--(18)	285.32 (145)	285.95 (41)	290.61 (44)

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[1] Average based on item: "How many years of school did your mother complete?"

TABLE 7.20.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average; prefer professionals, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent prefer professionals[1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–9 .... (1)	267.10 (255)	269.00 (59)	268.20 (41)
		10–19 ...... (2)	266.17 (228)	268.97 (138)	274.67 (188)
		20–49 ...... (3)	265.16 (94)	268.87 (147)	274.20 (156)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–9 .... (4)			
		10–19 ...... (5)	272.66 (218)	271.76 (124)	274.62 (87)
		20–49 ...... (3)	271.04 (24)	280.48 (63)	281.94 (127)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–9 .... (7)	265.92 (182)	267.78 (41)	268.21 (33)
		10–19 ...... (8)	265.74 (191)	269.83 (140)	276.48 (143)
		20–49 ...... (9)	263.90 (90)	265.40 (114)	272.78 (144)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–9 ...... (10)			
		10–19 .... (11)	273.39 (204)	273.96 (104)	276.44 (74)
		20–49 .... (12)	275.40 (10)	277.32 (37)	283.30 (105)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–9 ...... (13)	269.22 (45)	276.35 (17)	278.73 (11)
		10–19 .... (14)	270.24 (53)	274.42 (36)	281.51 (45)
		20–49 .... (15)	265.90 (21)	274.35 (40)	278.98 (56)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–9 ...... (16)			
		10–19 .... (17)	283.20 (176)	280.50 (85)	287.01 (74)
		20–49 .... (18)	282.70 (10)	287.50 (20)	290.25 (81)

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[1] Percent of responding teachers expressing a preference for schools with all or mostly "children of professional and white collar workers."

TABLE 7.21.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average; preference for Negroes, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average:[1] preference for Negroes	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low (1)	262. 42 (67)	267. 93 (125)	275. 76 (168)
		Medium (2)	266. 94 (510)	269. 51 (219)	272. 26 (217)
		High (3)			
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (4)	266. 59 (17)	269. 53 (19)	280. 97 (68)
		Medium (5)	268. 15 (85)	275. 48 (163)	278. 17 (143)
		High (6)	275. 51 (135)	268. 60 (5)	
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low (7)	263. 36 (63)	267. 08 (104)	274. 15 (129)
		Medium (8)	265. 78 (400)	268. 25 (191)	273. 77 (190)
		High (9)			
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (10)	268. 60 (10)	273. 91 (11)	279. 57 (60)
		Medium (11)	268. 19 (67)	274. 87 (129)	281. 00 (115)
		High (12)	276. 30 (135)	(1)	(3)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low (13)	267. 13 (15)	276. 14 (21)	281. 38 (50)
		Medium (14)	269. 38 (104)	274. 33 (72)	278. 84 (62)
		High (15)			
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (16)	288. 88 (8)	(2)	291. 89 (57)
		Medium (17)	274. 88 (42)	282. 16 (100)	286. 85 (98)
		High (18)	285. 73 (133)	(3)	

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[1] Average based on item: "What kind of school do you prefer to work in, as far as racial composition is concerned?"

TABLE 7.22.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average; encourage integration, and proportion white classmates last year; for the Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: encourage integration [1]	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Conservative----(1)	262.37 (79)	267.23 (132)	273.91 (185)
		Intermediate----(2)	267.04 (419)	269.71 (133)	273.47 (120)
		Liberal---------(3)	267.12 (78)	270.47 (79)	273.80 (77)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Conservative----(4)	267.16 (44)	276.78 (91)	278.86 (150)
		Intermediate----(5)	270.08 (62)	272.94 (91)	280.21 (56)
		Liberal---------(6)	275.51 (135)	268.60 (5)	-------------
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Conservative----(7)	263.22 (73)	266.06 (118)	272.95 (138)
		Intermediate----(8)	265.98 (318)	269.89 (114)	275.19 (108)
		Liberal---------(9)	265.37 (71)	267.43 (63)	274.06 (68)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Conservative---(10)	268.41 (22)	276.19 (52)	280.96 (127)
		Intermediate---(11)	269.07 (56)	273.96 (88)	279.48 (42)
		Liberal--------(12)	276.30 (135)	(1)	(3)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Conservative---(13)	264.59 (17)	276.14 (21)	280.28 (49)
		Intermediate---(14)	270.65 (88)	272.78 (41)	279.59 (32)
		Liberal--------(15)	264.78 (14)	276.39 (31)	279.82 (28)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Conservative---(16)	275.18 (11)	283.62 (24)	287.22 (82)
		Intermediate---(17)	277.02 (40)	281.41 (78)	290.75 (69)
		Liberal--------(18)	285.64 (134)	(3)	-------------

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[1] Average based on items: (a) "From a realistic viewpoint, there may be some good jobs from which Negroes have been excluded. Do you personally feel that a teacher or guidance counselor should encourage Negro students to aspire to such jobs?" and (b) "In general, what type of institution would be best for most Negroes who are going to college? (Negro college, little difference, predominantly white college.)"

TABLE 7.23.—*Proportion of 12th grade Negro students with definite plans to attend college, by individual's parents' educatic ., average parents education of students in his school, teacher average: earned degree, proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of student)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: earned degree	Proportion white classmates last year: Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low (1)	10.0 (5)	(1)	10.0 (4)
		Medium-low (2)	17.7 (198)	14.0 (214)	19.9 (271)
		Medium-high (3)	19.5 (359)	21.4 (126)	30.9 (110)
		High (4)	13.3 (15)	(3)	-----
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (5)	-----	-----	-----
		Medium-low (6)	17.6 (74)	29.6 (135)	34.6 (107)
		Medium-high (7)	31.5 (168)	11.5 (52)	21.5 (107)
		High (8)	-----	-----	-----
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Low (9)	14.3 (7)	(1)	(1)
		Medium-low (10)	14.6 (144)	15.8 (190)	29.2 (216)
		Medium-high (11)	19.5 (302)	33.3 (99)	41.6 (101)
		High (12)	10.0 (10)	20.0 (5)	(2)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (13)	-----	-----	-----
		Medium-low (14)	17.5 (57)	39.6 (106)	43.4 (83)
		Medium-high (15)	32.5 (157)	17.1 (35)	38.5 (96)
		High (16)	-----	-----	-----
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (17)	(1)	(1)	(2)
		Medium-low (18)	23.5 (34)	30.8 (39)	59.4 (69)
		Medium-high (19)	38.6 (83)	51.0 (51)	63.4 (41)
		High (20)	(1)	(2)	-----
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Low (21)	-----	-----	-----
		Medium-low (22)	41.2 (34)	58.2 (79)	76.3 (59)
		Medium-high (23)	66.2 (151)	65.4 (26)	76.0 (96)
		High (24)	(1)	-----	-----

TABLE 7.24.—*Proportion of 9th grade Negro students with definite plans to attend college by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: earned degree, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: earned degree	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	Very low-- (1)	33.4 (33)	37.6 (101)	44.4 (18)	50.0 (10)
		Low------ (2)	38.7 (137)	29.6 (54)	17.6 (34)	27.9 (86)
		Medium--- (3)	28.4 (229)	26.6 (241)	31.4 (35)	38.6 (44)
		High------ (4)	38.3 (128)	31.0 (197)	26.5 (83)	34.6 (81)
		Very high-- (5)	22.6 (31)	27.8 (72)	28.6 (35)	22.7 (22)
	High school graduate or more	Very low-- (6)	12.5 (8)	16.7 (6)	18.2 (11)	43.8 (16)
		Low------ (7)	36.0 (50)	31.9 (119)	34.1 (82)	28.2 (71)
		Medium--- (8)	28.1 (134)	37.8 (45)	18.8 (16)	40.6 (32)
		High------ (9)	66.7 (12)	33.3 (9)	30.0 (10)	33.3 (60)
		Very high-- (10)	50.4 (6)	18.2 (11)	25.0 (8)	50.0 (8)
High school graduate	Less than high school graduate.	Very low-- (11)	20.5 (39)	29.4 (85)	44.4 (18)	5.5 (18)
		Low------ (12)	47.1 (170)	31.5 (54)	29.8 (47)	25.3 (95)
		Medium--- (13)	26.3 (376)	26.4 (360)	35.4 (65)	46.2 (93)
		High------ (14)	27.1 (262)	35.1 (367)	36.0 (161)	39.8 (171)
		Very high-- (15)	33.4 (75)	27.6 (90)	32.6 (49)	56.2 (32)
	High school graduate or more	Very low-- (16)	33.3 (15)	38.5 (13)	29.4 (17)	37.5 (24)
		Low------ (17)	49.6 (113)	36.2 (199)	42.0 (100)	32.5 (80)
		Medium--- (18)	32.7 (309)	40.2 (82)	33.3 (30)	47.3 (74)
		High------ (19)	47.8 (23)	26.7 (15)	22.7 (22)	42.7 (89)
		Very high-- (20)	50.0 (10)	21.1 (19)	35.3 (17)	88.2 (17)
More than high school graduate.	Less than high school graduate.	Very low-- (21)	28.6 (7)	60.0 (15)	60.0 (5)	(3)
		Low------ (22)	48.4 (31)	63.6 (11)	71.4 (7)	63.6 (22)
		Medium--- (23)	50.9 (53)	41.9 (62)	57.1 (21)	63.6 (22)
		High------ (24)	64.3 (56)	54.7 (64)	55.6 (45)	78.4 (51)
		Very high-- (25)	33.3 (6)	27.3 (11)	50.0 (4)	71.4 (7)
	High school graduate or more	Very low-- (26)	50.0 (6)	83.3 (6)	44.4 (9)	76.2 (21)
		Low------ (27)	64.9 (74)	69.8 (86)	79.3 (29)	65.4 (52)
		Medium--- (28)	60.6 (94)	68.0 (50)	75.0 (20)	71.4 (49)
		High------ (29)	85.7 (7)	44.4 (9)	60.0 (10)	76.3 (59)
		Very high-- (30)	75.0 (8)	76.5 (17)	61.1 (18)	93.7 (32)

TABLE 7.25.—*Proportion of the 12th grade Negro students with definite plans to attend college by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, teacher average: percent academic major, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent academic major	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low)	10-39-----(1)	22. 8 (92)	9. 4 (64)	20. 0 (85)
		40-49-----(2)	14. 6 (246)	16. 3 (129)	18. 0 (150)
		50-59-----(3)	19. 7 (157)	17. 9 (140)	29. 7 (145)
		60-89-----(4)	23. 2 (82)	63. 6 (11)	20. 0 (5)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	10-39-----(5)	-------	-------	-------
		40-49-----(6)	10. 7 (56)	17. 8 (73)	28. 6 (28)
		50-59-----(7)	32. 7 (165)	20. 0 (60)	21. 5 (107)
		60-89-----(8)	28. 6 (21)	38. 9 (54)	36. 7 (79)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low)	10-39-----(9)	9. 7 (62)	14. 1 (64)	32. 4 (71)
		40-49----(10)	17. 2 (169)	15. 9 (113)	23. 5 (115)
		50-59----(11)	16. 8 (131)	26. 9 (93)	42. 1 (126)
		60-89----(12)	24. 8 (101)	48. 0 (25)	50. 0 (8)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	10-39----(13)	-------	-------	-------
		40-49----(14)	13. 7 (51)	36. 2 (69)	50. 0 (20)
		50-59----(15)	34. 0 (150)	23. [illegible] (47)	38. 0 (100)
		60-89----(16)	23. 1 (13)	48. 0 (25)	49. 2 (59)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low)	10-39----(17)	45. 5 (11)	11. 1 (9)	68. 0 (25)
		40-49----(18)	25. 0 (36)	38. 5 (26)	50. 0 (34)
		50-59----(19)	26. 3 (38)	52. 1 (48)	62. 0 (50)
		60-89----(20)	47. 1 (34)	50. 0 (10)	(3)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	10-39----(21)	-------	-------	-------
		40-49----(22)	37. 5 (32)	49. 2 (59)	80. 0 (20)
		50-59----(23)	66. 9 (145)	61. 5 (26)	74. 0 (73)
		60-89----(24)	55. 6 (9)	90. 0 (20)	77. 4 (62)

Table 7.26.—*Proportion of 9th grade Negro students with definite plans to attend college by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, teacher average; percent academic major and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent academic major	Proportion white classmates last year			
			None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–49 (1)	30. 0 (70)	31. 9 (94)	38. 7 (31)	34. 8 (23)
		50–59 (2)	34. 4 (294)	27. 6 (402)	20. 7 (111)	30. 1 (143)
		60–89 (3)	32. 5 (194)	34. 3 (169)	34. 9 (63)	36. 4 (77)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (4)	40. 0 (5)	25. 0 (8)	40. 0 (10)	48. 3 (29)
		50–59 (5)	24. 4 (86)	22. 4 (107)	31. 6 (98)	27. 0 (100)
		60–89 (6)	35. 3 (119)	46. 7 (75)	15. 8 (19)	39. 7 (58)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–49 (7)	28. 9 (90)	26. 6 (124)	40. 0 (35)	17. 9 (39)
		50–59 (8)	31. 1 (440)	26. 1 (486)	33. 5 (182)	36. 6 (216)
		60–89 (9)	30. 6 (392)	37. 6 (346)	35. 8 (123)	44. 2 (154)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (10)	55. 6 (9)	(3)	36. 4 (11)	48. 3 (29)
		50–59 (11)	22. 6 (221)	26. 7 (180)	37. 3 (134)	40. 8 (152)
		60–89 (12)	51. 3 (240)	47. 6 (145)	34. 1 (41)	45. 1 (102)
More than high school (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–49 (13)	18. 2 (11)	54. 5 (11)	60. 0 (5)	66. 7 (6)
		50–59 (14)	55. 7 (79)	43. 2 (88)	63. 9 (36)	72. 0 (50)
		60–89 (15)	57. 1 (63)	56. 3 (64)	51. 2 (41)	73. 5 (49)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–40 (16)	(2)	57. 1 (7)	(1)	42. 9 (7)
		50–59 (17)	51. 4 (37)	55. 6 (63)	70. 6 (68)	73. 3 (120)
		60–89 (18)	66. 0 (150)	78. 6 (98)	64. 7 (17)	80. 2 (86)

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Table 7.27.—*Percent definite plans to attend college for 12th grade Negro students by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, teacher average: percent want to teach here, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individuals' parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent want to teach here	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low)	0–49 (1)	18.5 (454)	19.9 (171)	29.2 (161)
		50–59 (2)	21.3 (89)	15.2 (99)	18.4 (98)
		60–100 (3)	11.8 (34)	13.5 (74)	18.3 (126)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (4)	20.0 (20)	9.1 (11)	7.8 (51)
		50–59 (5)	27.9 (204)	16.5 (121)	34.2 (79)
		60–100 (6)	27.8 (18)	45.5 (55)	34.5 (84)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low)	0–49 (7)	18.4 (359)	27.4 (157)	42.3 (137)
		50–59 (8)	17.7 (79)	20.3 (74)	34.2 (79)
		60–100 (9)	8.0 (25)	9.4 (64)	21.2 (104)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (10)	20.0 (10)	0.9 (6)	34.3 (35)
		50–59 (11)	28.7 (195)	33.3 (102)	37.0 (73)
		60–100 (12)	33.3 (9)	42.4 (33)	47.9 (71)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low)	0–49 (13)	31.8 (85)	46.2 (52)	59.1 (44)
		50–59 (14)	44.4 (27)	45.8 (24)	63.6 (33)
		60–100 (15)	14.3 (7)	35.3 (17)	57.1 (35)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–49 (16)	42.9 (7)	(3)	65.4 (26)
		50–59 (17)	63.0 (165)	50.8 (65)	78.6 (42)
		60–100 (18)	50.0 (14)	75.7 (37)	78.2 (87)

TABLE 7.28.—*Proportion of 9th grade Negro students with definite plans to attend college, by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, teacher average: percent want to teach here, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: percent want to teach here	Proportion of white classmates last year None I	 Less than half II	 About half III	 More than half IV
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–29......(1)	24.0 (75)	27.4 (117)	28.1 (32)	38.2 (34)
		30–39......(2)	33.5 (194)	30.3 (287)	31.7 (63)	39.1 (69)
		40–49......(3)	30.2 (169)	32.7 (147)	28.0 (50)	30.6 (72)
		50–59......(4)	38.9 (90)	26.8 (82)	23.3 (43)	25.5 (47)
		60–89......(5)	53.3 (30)	31.3 (32)	23.5 (17)	23.8 (21)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–29......(6)	42.1 (38)	45.7 (46)	35.3 (17)	33.3 (24)
		30–39......(7)	(2)	37.5 (8)	23.8 (21)	15.4 (13)
		40–49......(8)	25.0 (12)	25.0 (16)	28.6 (21)	30.0 (70)
		50–59......(9)	32.9 (82)	29.3 (92)	31.4 (51)	39.6 (53)
		60–89....(10)	25.0 (76)	21.4 (28)	29.4 (17)	44.4 (27)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–29.....(11)	30.5 (226)	31.0 (200)	31.3 (83)	38.8 (80)
		30–39....(12)	23.8 (269)	25.1 (378)	36.1 (97)	37.6 (133)
		40–49....(13)	26.9 (283)	37.5 (264)	36.0 (89)	32.2 (115)
		50–59....(14)	57.8 (102)	26.0 (73)	34.0 (47)	45.9 (61)
		60–89....(15)	35.7 (42)	36.6 (41)	41.7 (24)	40.0 (20)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–29.....(16)	50.5 (99)	44.7 (114)	35.0 (20)	44.0 (50)
		30–39....(17)	(1)	16.7 (6)	63.6 (22)	9.1 (11)
		40–49....(18)	43.5 (23)	21.7 (23)	28.2 (39)	29.6 (81)
		50–59....(19)	43.5 (154)	32.8 (134)	31.8 (66)	48.7 (76)
		60–89....(20)	25.9 (193)	33.3 (51)	38.5 (39)	58.5 (65)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low).	0–29.....(21)	61.8 (34)	44.2 (43)	60.7 (28)	76.0 (25)
		30–39....(22)	47.8 (46)	54.7 (53)	58.3 (24)	78.1 (32)
		40–49....(23)	45.2 (31)	45.0 (40)	50.0 (20)	69.6 (23)
		50–59....(24)	50.0 (28)	40.0 (15)	42.9 (7)	62.5 (16)
		60–89....(25)	78.6 (14)	66.7 (12)	(3)	66.7 (9)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	0–29.....(26)	64.9 (74)	81.3 (64)	83.3 (6)	73.9 (23)
		30–39....(27)	(1)	75.0 (4)	88.9 (9)	75.0 (16)
		40–49....(28)	66.7 (6)	54.5 (11)	40.0 (15)	71.4 (56)
		50–59....(29)	65.3 (72)	52.4 (42)	77.8 (18)	83.3 (42)
		60–89....(30)	58.3 (36)	70.2 (47)	68.4 (38)	73.7 (76)

Table 7.29.—*Proportion of 12th grade Negro students with definite plans to go to college, by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of students in his school, teacher average: vocabulary test scores, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of student)	School average: parents' education (social class of school)	Teacher average: vocabulary test scores	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low)	17. 0–22. 9..... (1)	14. 1 (128)	12. 8 (125)	25. 6 (160)
		23. 0–23. 9..... (2)	21. 8 (156)	30. 4 (56)	10. 5 (19)
		24. 0–24. 9..... (3)	18. 8 (292)	15. 6 (160)	21. 7 (189)
		25. 0–26. 9..... (4)	(1)	(3)	23. 5 (17)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	17. 0–22. 9..... (5)	35. 3 (139)	42. 9 (7)	20. 7 (29)
		23. 0–23. 9..... (6)	12. 5 (16)	0. 0 (18)	33. 3 (21)
		24. 0–24. 9..... (7)	14. 3 (77)	16. 7 (108)	21. 2 (104)
		25. 0–26. 9..... (8)	40. 0 (10)	46. 3 (54)	41. 7 (60)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low)	17. 0–22. 9..... (9)	13. 3 (90)	16. 7 (108)	41. 6 (125)
		23. 0–23. 9.... (10)	21. 9 (160)	42. 0 (50)	44. 4 (18)
		24. 0–24. 9.... (11)	16. 4 (213)	18. 2 (137)	26. 5 (166)
		25. 0–26. 9.... (12)	------------	------------	27. 3 (11)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	17. 0–22. 9.... (13)	34. 8 (135)	(3)	21. 4 (28)
		23. 0–23. 9.... (14)	20. 0 (10)	18. 2 (11)	18. 8 (16)
		24. 0–24. 9.... (15)	14. 3 (63)	34. 0 (94)	40. 7 (86)
		25. 0–26. 9.... (16)	50. 0 (6)	42. 4 (33)	59. 2 (49)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low)	17. 0–22. 9.... (17)	31. 6 (19)	27. 3 (22)	63. 6 (44)
		23. 0–23. 9.... (18)	42. 9 (56)	61. 5 (26)	40. 0 (5)
		24. 0–24. 9.... (19)	22. 7 (44)	42. 2 (45)	56. 1 (57)
		25. 0–26. 9.... (20)	------------	------------	83. 3 (6)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	17. 0–22. 9.... (21)	67. 9 (134)	(3)	64. 3 (14)
		23. 0–23. 9.... (22)	50. 0 (4)	(1)	88. 2 (17)
		24. 0–24. 9.... (23)	39. 5 (38)	50. 0 (64)	67. 9 (53)
		25. 0–26. 9.... (24)	60. 0 (10)	75. 7 (37)	81. 7 (71)

TABLE 7.30.—*Proportion of 12th grade Negro students with definite plans to attend college, by individual's parents' education, average parents' education of the students in his school, teacher average: mother's education, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Individual's parents' education (social class of students)	School average: parents' education (social class level of school)	Teacher average: mother's education	Proportion white classmates last year		
			Less than half I	About half II	More than half III
Less than high school graduate (low).	Less than high school graduate (low.)	Grade school or less (1)	25.0 (168)	23.5 (68)	23.6 (89)
		Some high school (2)	15.8 (406)	15.6 (276)	22.3 (278)
		High school or more. (3)	(3)		27.8 (18)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Grade school or less (4)	(1)		(8)
		Some high school (5)	15.6 (90)	14.8 (128)	26.7 (161)
		High school or more. (6)	33.8 (151)	45.8 (59)	37.8 (45)
High school graduate (medium).	Less than high school graduate (low).	Grade school or less (7)	21.0 (167)	34.2 (73)	36.5 (63)
		Some high school (8)	16.0 (293)	17.5 (217)	31.4 (242)
		High school or more. (9)	(3)	20.0 (5)	53.3 (15)
	High school graudate or more (medium to high).	Grade school or less. (10)	(1)		42.9 (7)
		Some high school (11)	15.5 (71)	31.8 (107)	35.4 (130)
		High school or more. (12)	35.2 (142)	41.2 (34)	57.1 (42)
More than high school graduate (high).	Less than high school graduate (low.)	Grade school or less. (13)	43.1 (58)	60.0 (30)	61.1 (18)
		Some high school (14)	24.6 (61)	37.1 (62)	60.0 (90)
		High school or more. (15)		(1)	50.0 (4)
	High school graduate or more (medium to high).	Grade school or less. (16)			75.0 (4)
		Some high school (17)	40.0 (40)	50.0 (64)	72.0 (107)
		High school or more. (18)	67.6 (145)	75.6 (41)	86.4 (44)

8.0 TABULATIONS FOR WHITE STUDENTS; METROPOLITAN NORTHEAST

TABLE 8.1.—*Average verbal achievement test scores for 12th grade white students, by parents' education, parents' educational desires, and the percent white enrollment in the school; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	Parents' educational desires [1]	Percent white enrollment in school			
		1–49	50–89	90–99	100
Less than high school graduate.	Low	274.55 (295)	276.90 (986)	279.23 (1,355)	277.16 (311)
	Medium	282.23 (280)	284.14 (845)	287.43 (1,242)	285.83 (199)
	High	288.97 (101)	289.18 (237)	293.57 (442)	290.72 (36)
Completed high school.	Low	276.21 (213)	276.84 (558)	281.57 (980)	279.47 (130)
	Medium	283.89 (330)	287.43 (853)	290.94 (1,643)	289.40 (174)
	High	289.88 (146)	293.04 (459)	297.59 (996)	296.77 (87)
At least some college.	Low	286.42 (19)	287.20 (44)	285.49 (135)	283.92 (12)
	Medium	290.52 (59)	292.26 (181)	294.69 (419)	294.42 (77)
	High	293.84 (58)	299.18 (253)	302.56 (582)	302.25 (96)
	Total	284.12 (1,206)	284.66 (4,416)	283.82 (7,794)	286.22 (1,122)

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[1] An index based on the following five student questions: How good a student does you mother (father) want you to be in school? How much education does your father (mother) want you to have? About how often last year did your mother or father attend parent association meetings such as the PTA?

Table 8.2.—*Average verbal achievement scores for 12th grade white students, by parents' education, proportion white classmates and percent white in school for Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	Proportion white classmates	Percent white in school			
		0–49	50–89	90–99	100
Less than high school graduate	Less than half	277.54 (254)	276.37 (256)	282.37 (126)	282.75 (4)
	About half	280.69 (225)	279.75 (576)	280.88 (25)	------------
	More than half	286.51 (241)	283.17 (1, 128)	284.48 (1, 635)	280.40 (5)
	All	285.34 (103)	281.74 (181)	285.24 (1, 573)	281.22 (537)
High school graduate	Less than half	279.10 (189)	279.72 (211)	290.92 (184)	282.38 (8)
	About half	281.67 (253)	282.53 (437)	276.67 (18)	287.00 (2)
	More than half	290.39 (315)	287.90 (1, 079)	290.33 (1, 989)	285.80 (371)
	All	290.22 (162)	287.47 (205)	290.82 (2, 079)	287.91 (10)
At least some college	Less than half	286.16 (25)	294.59 (46)	297.78 (81)	301.00 (5)
	About half	290.80 (35)	290.26 (91)	274.75 (4)	------------
	More than half	297.80 (101)	297.61 (309)	297.60 (655)	306.00 (8)
	All	296.24 (46)	294.95 (56)	299.57 (797)	297.32 (172)

Table 8.3.—*Average verbal ability score of 9th grade white students, by father's education, mother's educational desires, and 1st grade in class with nonwhites; for Metropolitan Northeast*

Father's education	Mother's educational desires	Earliest grade in school with nonwhites			
		1, 2, or 3	4, 5, or 6	7, 8, or 9	Never
Less than high school graduate.	Complete high school	263.96 (228)	262.38 (97)	265.32 (156)	265.29 (166)
	Post-high-school training	266.56 (347)	266.12 (139)	266.02 (253)	266.96 (295)
	College	273.48 (1,542)	271.80 (548)	273.74 (1,008)	274.23 (977)
Completed high school	Complete high school	265.27 (462)	262.49 (172)	266.56 (297)	265.51 (313)
	Post-high-school training	267.67 (506)	266.38 (195)	268.23 (387)	268.34 (447)
	College	275.27 (2,941)	274.01 (1,036)	275.73 (2,019)	276.64 (1,899)
At least some college	Complete high school	279.69 (80)	280.06 (33)	275.54 (59)	281.24 (80)
	Post-high-school training	277.07 (116)	284.06 (60)	273.84 (127)	274.38 (134)
	College	284.82 (1,627)	284.06 (569)	283.94 (1,394)	284.83 (1,132)

Table 8.4.—*Verbal achievement scores of 6th grade white students by parents' education, reading material in the home, and percent white enrollment in the school; for Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	Reading material in the home [1]	Percent white enrollment in the school			
		0–49	50–89	90–99	100
Less than high school graduate	High	248.81 (204)	252.46 (444)	252.68 (844)	253.45 (431)
	Low	244.07 (169)	247.90 (282)	249.67 (306)	250.64 (207)
High school graduate	High	250.85 (78)	254.00 (1,395)	256.51 (3,448)	256.57 (1,907)
	Low	244.91 (379)	249.02 (541)	252.61 (825)	253.18 (425)
At least some college	High	258.43 (93)	262.23 (503)	263.40 (1,082)	263.44 (577)
	Low	251.57 (21)	260.29 (68)	263.51 (109)	260.04 (50)

[1] An index based on the following material contained in the student's home: dictionary; encyclopedia; daily newspaper; number of magazines in the home; number of books in the home.

Table 8.5.—*Percent of 12th grade white students who definitely plan to go to college, by parents' educational desires, and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parent's education	Parents' educational desires	Proportion white classmates last year: Less than half I	About half II	More than half III	All IV
Less than high school graduate	Low	10 (316)	6 (412)	7 (1, 206)	8 (1, 013)
	Medium	33 (231)	26 (318)	38 (1, 153)	40 (678)
	High	52 (72)	59 (89)	72 (418)	70 (237)
Completed high school	Low	7 (182)	11 (252)	13 (749)	17 (698)
	Medium	42 (241)	40 (317)	51 (1, 381)	56 (1, 061)
	High	72 (131)	70 (137)	83 (846)	78 (574)
At least some college	Low	40 (15)	36 (25)	30 (67)	40 (53)
	Medium	61 (49)	63 (54)	73 (300)	76 (333)
	High	90 (67)	80 (50)	90 (441)	92 (431)

Table 8.6.—*Average verbal achievement scores of 12th grade white students, by parents' education, average of parents' education of students in the school, and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year: Less than half I	About half II	More than half III	All IV
Less than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	275. 71 (452)	278. 69 (559)	282. 30 (1, 799)	281. 50 (1, 275)
	High school graduate or more	283. 70 (188)	282. 89 (267)	286. 82 (1, 210)	287. 01 (1, 119)
High school graduate	Less than high school graduate	278. 67 (303)	280. 10 (396)	286. 09 (1, 354)	284. 94 (778)
	High school graduate or more	287. 62 (289)	284. 60 (314)	291. 84 (2, 039)	292. 15 (2, 039)
At least some college	Less than high school graduate	289. 39 (41)	288. 07 (45)	293. 37 (231)	290. 96 (109)
	High school graduate or more	297. 11 (116)	290. 92 (85)	298. 86 (842)	299. 72 (962)

Table 8.7.—*Percent of 12th grade white students with definite plans to go to college, by parents' education, average of parents' education of students in the school and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	School average: parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	All V
Less than high school graduate	Less than high school graduate	24 (33)	21 (417)	19 (559)	24 (1,787)	22 (1,275)
	High school graduate	38 (24)	27 (136)	19 (258)	36 (925)	37 (808)
	More than high school graduate	50 (2)	71 (7)	100 (2)	82 (65)	58 (31)
High school graduate	Less than high school graduate	35 (17)	26 (223)	28 (317)	34 (1,039)	30 (620)
	High school graduate	50 (22)	41 (138)	33 (220)	50 (927)	50 (869)
	More than high school graduate		92 (12)		92 (103)	80 (78)
More than high school graduates	Less than high school graduate	36 (14)	47 (87)	52 (124)	61 (535)	54 (266)
	High school graduate	70 (30)	61 (103)	61 (172	73 (959)	71 (975)
	More than high school graduate	100 (11)	86 (28)	50 (2)	89 (221)	92 (342)

Table 8.8.—*Percent of 9th grade white students choosing an all-white school, by parents' education, proportion white classmates last year, and earliest grade in class with nonwhites; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year	Earliest grade in class with nonwhites				
		1, 2, or 3	4, 5, or 6	7, 8, or 9	Never	Total
Less than high school graduate	None or less than half	30 (270)	21 (94)	34 (113)		29 (477)
	About half	25 (185)	33 (54)	30 (80)		28 (319)
	More than half	24 (994)	31 (299)	29 (523)		26 (1,816)
	All	27 (650)	23 (322)	24 (687)	30 (1,328)	27 (2,987)
	Total	26 (2,099)	26 (769)	27 (1,402)	30 (1,328)	
High school graduate	None or less than half	23 (540)	34 (160)	33 (222)		27 (922)
	About half	24 (325)	34 (84)	28 (151)		26 (560)
	More than half	22 (1,733)	25 (543)	31 (994)		25 (3,270)
	All	21 (1,253)	24 (600)	25 (1,325)	29 (2,443)	26 (5,621)
	Total	21 (3,851)	26 (1,387)	28 (2,692)	29 (2,443)	
At least some college	None or less than half	19 (144)	26 (53)	20 (93)		21 (290)
	About half	13 (103)	18 (39)	18 (55)		15 (797)
	More than half	15 (771)	19 (240)	19 (614)		17 (1,625)
	All	16 (794)	17 (328)	20 (808)	21 (1,263)	19 (3,193)
	Total	16 (1,812)	18 (660)	20 (1,570)	21 (1,263)	

TABLE 8.9.—*Percent of 9th grade white students choosing all white friends, by parents' education, proportion white classmates last year and earliest grade in class with nonwhites; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	Proportion white classmates last year	Earliest grade in class with nonwhites				
		1, 2, or 3	4, 5, or 6	7, 8, or 9	Never	Total
Less than high school graduate	None or less than half	31 (270)	29 (94)	40 (113)		33 (477)
	About half	28 (185)	43 (54)	35 (80)		32 (319)
	More than half	35 (994)	40 (299)	42 (523)		38 (1, 816)
	All	32 (650)	32 (332)	35 (687)	38 (1, 328)	35 (2, 997)
	Total	33 (2, 099)	35 (779)	38 (1, 403)	38 (1, 328)	36 (5, 609)
High school graduate	None or less than half	30 (540)	34 (160)	38 (222)		33 (922)
	About half	34 (325)	38 (84)	30 (151)		34 (560)
	More than half	33 (1, 733)	33 (543)	44 (994)		36 (3, 270)
	All	30 (1, 253)	32 (600)	35 (1, 325)	39 (2, 443)	35 (5, 621)
	Total	32 (3, 851)	33 (1, 387)	38 (2, 692)	39 (2, 443)	35 (10, 373)
At least some college	None or less than half	23 (144)	36 (53)	30 (93)		28 (290)
	About half	19 (103)	28 (39)	25 (55)		22 (197)
	More than half	27 (771)	28 (240)	30 (614)		28 (1, 625)
	All	26 (794)	27 (328)	32 (808)	28 (1, 263)	28 (3, 193)
	Total	26 (1, 812)	28 (660)	31 (1, 570)	28 (1, 263)	28 (5, 305)

Table 8.10.—*Percent of 9th grade white students choosing an all white school, by father's education, proportion white classmates last year, and whether the student has any close Negro friends; Metropolitan Northeast*

Father's education	Close Negro friends	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	All V
Less than high school graduate	Yes	30 (23)	25 (132)	22 (118)	21 (400)	28 (274)
	No	59 (22)	60 (116)	68 (87)	55 (639)	56 (1,089)
High school graduate	Yes	15 (20)	23 (130)	20 (101)	19 (422)	19 (293)
	No	50 (32)	54 (127)	54 (98)	50 (791)	50 (1,514)
At least some college	Yes	11 (27)	17 (59)	8 (58)	13 (274)	22 (211)
	No	50 (22)	53 (68)	38 (69)	39 (535)	41 (1,017)

Table 8.11.—*Percent of 9th grade white students having some close Negro friends, by father's education, and proportion white classmates last year; Metropolitan Northeast*

Father's education	Proportion white classmates last year				
	None I	Less than half II	About half III	More than half IV	All V
Less than high school graduate	51 (45)	53 (248)	58 (205)	38 (1,039)	20 (1,363)
High school graduate	38 (52)	50 (257)	51 (199)	35 (1,213)	16 (1,807)
At least some college	55 (49)	46 (127)	46 (127)	34 (809)	17 (1,228)

Table 8.12.—*Average verbal achievement for 12th grade white students, by parents' education, percent of teachers reporting race tension in the school and proportion white classmates; Metropolitan Northeast*

Parents' education	Percent of teachers reporting race tension in the school	Proportion white classmates last year			
		None	Less than half	About half	More than half
Less than high school graduate	0–9	280. 39 (274)	283. 55 (239)	284. 74 (1, 721)	284. 73 (1, 760)
	10–19	276. 52 (255)	279. 33 (396)	283. 78 (621)	278. 73 (256)
	20–29	275. 95 (42)	277. 86 (63)	281. 04 (284)	280. 60 (81)
	30–39	271. 71 (48)	276. 95 (121)	280. 95 (151)	276. 65 (17)
High school graduate	0–9	285. 18 (301)	284. 74 (299)	290. 11 (1, 991)	290. 38 (2, 023)
	10–19	279. 92 (204)	280. 71 (310)	288. 07 (707)	285. 13 (226)
	20–29	282. 56 (25)	279. 16 (50)	285. 27 (214)	285. 41 (76)
	30–39	271. 67 (24)	276. 38 (47)	283. 19 (64)	276. 75 (8)
More than high school graduate	0–9	297. 14 (95)	293. 24 (74)	297. 73 (579)	299. 03 (755)
	10–19	290. 71 (28)	286. 14 (42)	296. 22 (183)	292. 46 (46)
	20–29	293. 00 (4)	291. 00 (7)	294. 11 (36)	286. 69 (16)
	30–39	286. 50 (4)	278. 83 (6)	280. 20 (10)	----------------

Appendix C 2

THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS OF NEGRO STUDENTS

(This report was prepared for the Commission by Dr. David Armor of Harvard University under contract with the Commission.)

Introduction

Most sociologists would agree that if any social group desired to change its status or general economic opportunities, the surest path would inevitably involve a change of educational status. Moreover, it is a fact that a process of educational upgrading is occurring in American society, whereby the standards of sufficient educational credentials are becoming higher and higher. At one time the high school diploma was the major educational goal; now that standard is the college degree. Consequently, if any social group wants to maintain whatever social and economic status it has, it must receive education at an equal rate with other social groups.

From this argument it follows that if a group is trying to improve its relative position, rather than merely maintain its present level, it must increase the amount of education its members receive. By any indicator one chooses, Negro Americans as a group enjoy less social and economic advantages than any other social group. Although attainment of full equality of opportunity involves many varied steps, our reasoning clearly outlines the crucial importance of education for this goal. Any factor which inhibits or prevents Negroes from attaining sufficient education will surely be one which prevents full equality.

This report will present data on the effects of racial isolation upon the college aspirations of American students. Although a desire for education is not the same thing as actually getting it, in view of the social and economic barriers facing the Negro in getting a college degree, it seems certain that factors which affect these desires will also affect their eventual fulfillment. A study of aspirations is further revealing in view of arguments above; the Negro must not merely maintain his present level of educational achievement, he must actually raise his rate in comparison to whites eventually to attain equal standing. Therefore, we must not hope merely to see Negroes with the same aspirations as whites, but we realize their aspirations should be higher than whites.

Definitions and Procedures

The data for this analysis came from a national survey of 9th and 12th grade students which was carried out in 1965 by the U.S. Office of Education under the direction of James Coleman. The data so collected consisted of a full complement of aptitude and achievement tests and a fairly complete set of social background data, as well as information about the students' aspirations. In addition, information was collected on both teachers and principals in the students' schools. The total number of cases with usable data is approximately 133,000 for the 9th grade and 97,000 for the 12th grade.

Although the sample is not a representative one, we are interested primarily in comparisons within various groupings, such as racial composition, region, social class, etc. Since these were the variables used in the original stratification, any comparison of percentages across them is valid, providing one ignores the total number of cases in each group. For this reason, our results are not weighted to reproduce the Nation as a whole. The frequencies observed in the tables in this report are the actual number of cases from the sample. For more technical information about the sampling procedures and the overall design of the data collection, one is referred to James Coleman, et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

Our analysis will be carried out within four regions, defined as follows: (1) Northeast—all New England States plus Delaware, Washington, D.C., New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; (2) Midwest—all Middle States, bordered by North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri; (3) South—all Gulf States, bounded on the north by the Virginias, Kentucky, and Arkansas; and in the west by Arizona and Oklahoma; (4) West—the remaining States, bounded on the east by Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada (and including Alaska and Hawaii). For a number of reasons, we did not analyze data from the nonmetropolitan areas. Thus our report deals only with students in metropolitan areas, defined as all counties within Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs).

Among the other variables we shall use in the analysis, some require little explanation or description. Among these are sex, race, grade average, education of father, and verbal ability. We chose the latter measure over other available ability measures because the Coleman report showed that it had a higher school-to-school variation than other achievement or aptitude scores. Several composite variables are used which were obtained by aggregating various characteristics over schools. A measure of average teacher ability was obtained by using the results of a short aptitude test administered to teachers and averaging the scores over each school. Four other measures were obtained by aggregating items from the student questionnaire over each school. These are the average percent of students who own an encyclopedia, the average percent of students with fathers in white-collar occupations (professional, business, technical, official, and sales—but excluding clerical workers), the average percent of students who are definitely planning college, and the percent of Negro students in a school. All measures we report, with the exception of region and teacher ability, were obtained from the student questionnaires. They are used either in their individual form or as aggregate characteristics.

The design of our analysis is simple. Our dependent variable is the percentage of Negro or white students definitely planning to attend college, and our main independent variable is the proportion of Negroes in a school. The college-plans variable was chosen over several other aspiration items because other studies have shown it to be the best attitudinal predictor of actual college attendance, especially if one considers those definitely planning to go.

We categorized schools into four groups on the basis of the percentage of Negroes they contain: None, 1 to 20 percent, 21 to 50 percent and 65 to 100 percent. In actuality there are a few schools which we have placed in the 21 to 50 percent category that have slightly more than 50 percent Negroes—but there is a very clear break, containing an extremely small number of schools, in the 50 to 70 percent range.

All other variables were treated as dichotomies. Their cutting points are made clear in the tables, except for verbal ability and social class of school. For these latter two measures, extreme regional variations made it impractical to dichotomize at the overall mean or median point. Moreover, students are more likely to be entering colleges within their own geographical region, thus placing them in competition with other students from their region. We did not, however, extend this reasoning to race and racial composition. Other things being equal, a Negro in an all-Negro school in New York State will be competing with whites from 1 to 20 percent Negro school in New York. Thus we computed the median verbal ability for each of the four metropolitan regions, and categorized all students above and below the median into upper and lower ability groups, respectively. The medians for the 9th grade ranged from 22 in the South to 31 in the Midwest; the 12th grade ranged from 27 in the South to 35 in the Northeast (test range equals 0 to 60).

An identical procedure was used for the social class of schools. In terms of determining the social class of the community, we felt that the percentage of white-collar fathers of students in a school would be the best indicator. We dichotomized schools into upper and lower social class categories by taking the regional medians as cutting points. The 9th grade medians ranged from 28 percent in the South to 44 percent in the West; the 12th grade medians ranged from 28 percent in the South to 47 percent in the West.

We chose the method of cross-tabulation analysis for two reasons. First, it is a clear-cut procedure and the results are easy to present and interpret. Second, and more importantly, the size of our sample is large enough to allow for true control as opposed to statistical control. Thus if serious interactions are present, covariance control methods generally hide them; cross-tabulation can bring them out. We shall see that there are, indeed, serious interactions in the data.

Our basic focus will be to control the relationship between college plans and racial compositions for as many potential contaminating variables as possible. We shall at all times control for ability, sex, race, and region. The control for ability is important as a reality control. If we found that Negroes in integrated schools were more likely to plan college than those in segregated schools, we would want to be sure that the former group did not have much less ability than the latter group—otherwise, the advantages of integration would be blunted by the issue of unrealistic aspirations.

Results of the Analysis

Tables 1 to 4 present the basic results of the relationship between college plans and racial composition, controlled for sex, ability and region, separately for the races and the 9th and 12th grades. There are several general observations we can make. First of all, the strongest positive effect of integration occurs for upper ability 9th grade males in the Northeast, with plans for college going from 51 percent in the segregated schools to 61 percent in the 1 to 20 percent Negro category. Weaker but consistent results occur for the South and West regions. The Midwest shows a strong reversal, with 47 percent in lightly integrated schools planning college compared to 64 percent in the segregated schools.

An even more impressive reversal occurs for females. In all regions, college aspiration is highest for female Negroes in the segregated schools. With the exception of females in the West, all lower ability Negroes show a similar effect: the highest proportions planning college are in the segregated schools.

Table 3 gives the results for 12th grade Negro students. The results are similar to the 9th grade for females; but we now find a reversal for males. In all regions, college aspirations are either higher for males in segregated schools than those in lightly integrated schools or are equal to them. Also, if we compare the Negro aspirations to white aspirations in the same categories and in the same grades, we find different patterns. In the 9th grade, white male aspirations get higher as the percent Negro gets lower, as did Negro aspirations, but white female aspirations are now reversed from the female Negro pattern. The 12th grade white patterns (where comparable) are similar to 9th grade white patterns.

The preceding tables were presented without important social class controls. It is possible that some of the differences just reported are due to differences in the individual family background characteristics of the students, or in the social class characteristics of the schools and the communities in which they reside. Tables 5 through 8 present the same relationship controlled for the individual student's social class, as measured by the father's education, as well as controls for average grade. The latter variable is introduced as an additional refinement for the ability dimension.

Table 5 presents these relationships for upper ability Negro males. Here we see the relationships which we observed in Table 1, brought out even stronger. Again, with the exception of the Midwest region, the aspirational level in integrated schools is higher when compared to the level in segregated schools, and this difference is greater than it was before the social class and grade average controls. The picture is mixed for Negro males of lower ability or who have C or lower average grades; there do not seem to be very many consistent patterns, and most differences seem small. There is a tendency, among males with low ability and low grades, for aspirations to be higher in the segregated situation. From certain points of view, this would indicate that the low ability Negro in the integrated school has a more realistic outlook. We must say, however, that in the case of Negroes, given their deprived position in American society, it is not easy to maintain that their aspirations should be realistic; such unrealistic aspirations are a good sign of determination.

For the female Negro students, we find much the same result as in the earlier tables, with some notable exceptions. Low ability females with A and B grades in the West have higher aspirations in integrated schools than in segregated schools (Table 8). But this is not the case for upper ability females. Generally, the females have higher aspirations in segregated schools.

Controls for individual social class are not sufficient; there may still be variations in the social class of the schools or communities which cause the differences in aspiration to appear to be accounted for by racial composition. Unfortunately, the sample sizes in all but the Northeast region are not large enough to allow for further controlling. We must, of necessity, continue this analysis within the Northeast region alone.

Tables 9 to 11 present the results of controlling for the social class of schools for 9th grade Negro males, Tables 10 and 11 with, and Table 9 without the grade average control. The results are most striking for the lower class Negro boy of above average ability in lower class schools (Table 9). Here we find that of those in the 1 to 20 percent Negro category, 67 percent definitely plan college, while only 31 percent plan college in the segregated schools. This difference does not seem to hold in the other combinations of individual and school social class. When we control for grades in addition (Table 10), the relationship still holds even though the number of cases is quite small. The relationship is positive again for low ability boys with A or B grade averages (Table 11). For other social class combinations the relationship usually disappears or becomes reversed, as in the case for those with low grade averages.

A similar analysis is carried out for Negro females and is presented in Tables 12 to 14. We still observe that even for high ability females, aspirations are generally higher in segregated schools. A notable exception is for those with higher-educated fathers in lower class schools and with A or B grades (regardless of verbal ability). Here, the aspirations are much higher in the integrated than in the segregated situation.

Before continuing, we must raise the question of further controls for school characteristics. Is the large difference in aspirations for the able but lower class Negro boy in integrated and segregated schools caused by some kind of residual social class characteristics not yet controlled? We ran tables similar to Table 9 using the school characteristics of teacher ability and the average proportion planning college in place of the social class measure. In both cases results similar to Table 9 were observed: the lower class Negro boy in the more deprived school did better in the integrated setting than in the segregated situation. Moreover, we can consider how whites do in the same categories. Table 15 presents the same table as Table 9 but for white males instead. Considering the same category—low individual and school social class—we see that there is very little difference in aspiration across the racial composition categories. If anything, aspirations are slightly higher for whites in schools which are mostly Negro! Finally, we argue that we began with a relatively small difference for ninth-grade Negro males, and the more social class controls we applied, the stronger were the positive effects of integration. For these reasons, we do not feel that the differences observed are due to uncontrolled social class characteristics.

The total sample size for 12th graders was somewhat smaller, and hence we could not carry out all of the controls as we did in the case of the 9th grade. But what we could analyze is consistent with our findings for the 9th grade. Table 17 presents the college plans-racial composition relationship for males of both races, controlled for individual and school social class. Again, in the low social class categories, the upper ability Negro has higher aspirations for college in the integrated schools than in the segregated schools. Also, we find that the case is just the opposite for the lower class white in lower class schools, giving evidence that we have a definite effect of racial isolation and not social class. For the female Negro, however, we find the same results as before: those in integrated schools have less plans for college than those in the segregated schools (Table 18).

Conclusions

The conclusions must be stated separately for Negro males and females. For the Negro male, it is the qualified, bright student from a lower class background and in a more deprived school, who is aided most by integration (or, conversely, hurt most by segregation). In a sense, he is the one for whom the most help is required, in view of the tremendous economic obstacles involved in getting a college degree. For the able middle class Negro in a better school, there is not as much effect due to integration. But do these students need the help? From Table 9, we see that 85 percent of those Negroes in segregated schools are already planning college—how much improvement do they need? Clearly, the effects of integration have been shown to help those with the greatest need for a boost in aspirations.

For Negro females, the situation is reversed. In general, aspirations are lower for those in integrated schools—at least for the lower class female in the lower class schools. We did show, however, that integration had a positive effect for Negro females with high grade averages in lower class schools with better educated fathers. But, similar to the higher class males, aspiration is already high even in the segregated category. We must tentatively conclude, then, that the impact on Negro girls of being in an integrated situation is different from that of Negro boys.

The Coleman report clearly established that the Negro student in America receives less adequate preparation and training than the white student; part of it is reflected in their lower ability scores.

We have shown that, even when they do possess high enough aptitudes and ability, under the proper conditions, segregation further constrains their educational career. This segregation has a double impact, affecting not only the preliminary qualifications for higher or advanced training and education, but, as well, the very desires which are necessary to bring it about.

Table 1.—*Percentage of 9th grade Negro students definitely planning college, by ability, sex, region, and racial composition of school*

Verbal ability [1]	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan Northeast		Metropolitan Midwest		Metropolitan South		Metropolitan West	
		Sex							
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Upper	1–20	61 (230)	61 (161)	47 (60)	36 (53)	60 (43)	62 (47)	68 (68)	55 (58)
	21–50	54 (459)	57 (427)	61 (116)	57 (113)	55 (31)	68 (28)	60 (53)	86 (49)
	65–100	51 (326)	67 (327)	64 (186)	73 (177)	55 (1, 031)	66 (1, 230)	67 (135)	70 (115)
Lower	1–20	31 (339)	33 (377)	35 (158)	35 (157)	35 (49)	38 (26)	42 (166)	60 (185)
	21–50	34 (1, 347)	32 (1, 737)	34 (502)	38 (498)	31 (52)	46 (68)	46 (198)	56 (206)
	65–100	35 (1, 330)	36 (1, 422)	40 (782)	46 (879)	37 (2, 843)	46 (2, 857)	51 (547)	57 (609)

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[1] For tables 1-8, verbal ability was dichotomized at the median separately for each region—but regardless of race and racial composition.

Table 2.—*Percentage of 9th grade white students definitely planning college, by ability, sex, region, and racial composition of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan Northeast		Metropolitan Midwest		Metropolitan South		Metropolitan West	
		Sex							
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Upper	None	58 (684)	50 (650)	58 (384)	50 (358)	65 (523)	49 (530)	(1)	(3)
	1–20	66 (5, 350)	54 (5, 186)	57 (3, 253)	48 (3, 119)	57 (2, 059)	46 (2, 092)	72 (2, 043)	61 (2, 184)
	21–50	66 (1, 309)	51 (1, 415)	53 (434)	36 (397)	45 (139)	46 (123)	58 (134)	41 (134)
	65–100	57 (79)	33 (52)	30 (20)	19 (37)	(5)	(8)	60 (10)	(6)
Lower	None	18 (344)	17 (275)	28 (174)	21 (159)	27 (171)	22 (125)	17 (12)	(6)
	1–20	28 (2, 712)	19 (2, 661)	28 (2, 252)	21 (2, 052)	27 (590)	20 (522)	42 (1, 186)	35 (1, 093)
	21–50	30 (1, 350)	18 (1, 503)	24 (482)	18 (482)	30 (76)	14 (59)	35 (171)	32 (167)
	65–100	18 (154)	21 (159)	27 (11)	27 (40)	37 (35)	25 (16)	45 (31)	32 (31)

TABLE 3.—*Percentage of 12th grade Negro students definitely planning college, by ability, sex, region, and racial composition of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan Northeast		Metropolitan Midwest		Metropolitan South		Metropolitan West	
		Sex							
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Upper	1–20	55 (172)	51 (116)	46 (61)	36 (55)	51 (51)	55 (38)	50 (34)	74 (50)
	21–50	45 (195)	57 (323)	43 (99)	53 (102)	(2)	(7)	63 (46)	71 (31)
	65–100	55 (142)	60 (140)	53 (105)	62 (98)	51 (611)	63 (819)	73 (62)	73 (60)
Lower	1–20	20 (281)	22 (310)	20 (142)	23 (133)	38 (37)	31 (51)	44 (127)	44 (151)
	21–50	23 (685)	23 (1,101)	27 (408)	27 (497)	29 (24)	31 (31)	34 (136)	41 (172)
	65–100	27 (401)	23 (656)	28 (288)	33 (355)	29 (1,974)	35 (2,119)	49 (276)	55 (327)

Table 4.—*Percentage of 12th grade white students definitely planning college, by ability, sex, region, and racial composition of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan Northeast		Metropolitan Midwest		Metropolitan South		Metropolitan West	
		Sex							
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Upper	None	44 (260)	47 (297)	49 (289)	46 (254)	50 (751)	43 (779)	62 (74)	38 (47)
	1–20	63 (4,415)	59 (3,940)	55 (2,697)	48 (2,545)	59 (1,264)	49 (1,254)	71 (1,714)	67 (1,766)
	21–50	54 (785)	53 (1,026)	47 (472)	37 (398)	19 (21)	35 (20)	57 (192)	51 (193)
	65–100	50 (52)	44 (18)	(6)	(4)	(4)	(1)	(4)	(4)
Lower	None	10 (272)	12 (227)	13 (164)	9 (139)	22 (205)	13 (207)	21 (42)	18 (50)
	1–20	24 (2,331)	19 (2,489)	24 (1,890)	17 (1,731)	29 (433)	18 (418)	44 (1,005)	31 (996)
	21–50	22 (821)	14 (1,143)	17 (539)	13 (533)	8 (26)	5 (21)	36 (208)	23 (198)
	65–100	26 (83)	16 (50)	27 (11)	(5)	45 (20)	30 (10)	35 (20)	12 (24)

TABLE 5.—*Percentage of upper verbal ability 9th grade Negro males definitely planning college, by average grades, father's education, region, and racial composition of schools*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan northeast		Metropolitan midwest		Metropolitan south		Metropolitan west	
		Education of father							
		Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more
A or B	1–20	66 (29)	77 (91)	40 (10)	82 (22)	67 (8)	91 (11)	64 (11)	90 (20)
	21–50	51 (57)	66 (151)	69 (26)	71 (31)	(4)	(8)	54 (13)	75 (20)
	65–100	40 (30)	66 (107)	61 (41)	81 (64)	58 (172)	76 (225)	53 (19)	76 (54)
C or less	1–20	35 (20)	50 (38)	(8)	(7)	(5)	60 (5)	42 (12)	(7)
	21–50	32 (28)	52 (78)	40 (10)	54 (13)	(2)	(5)	(2)	(2)
	65–100	33 (18)	60 (60)	64 (11)	48 (25)	37 (123)	55 (148)	(8)	87 (15)

Table 6.—*Percentage of lower verbal ability 9th grade Negro males definitely planning college, by average grades, father's education, region, and racial composition of schools*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan northeast		Metropolitan midwest		Metropolitan south		Metropolitan west	
		Education of father							
		Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more
A or B	1–20	40 (37)	36 (47)	(8)	52 (31)	60 (5)	33 (9)	54 (22)	50 (20)
	21–50	33 (125)	50 (228)	37 (43)	57 (68)	(5)	33 (3)	52 (23)	57 (28)
	65–100	40 (104)	54 (208)	47 (75)	62 (130)	42 (360)	60 (250)	52 (65)	64 (75)
C or less	1–20	28 (47)	36 (50)	31 (35)	35 (34)	44 (9)	(8)	30 (23)	44 (32)
	21–50	25 (130)	37 (190)	23 (79)	39 (104)	(7)	40 (10)	35 (23)	43 (30)
	65–100	31 (133)	37 (186)	35 (119)	39 (129)	30 (481)	46 (357)	45 (65)	50 (105)

TABLE 7.—*Percentage of upper verbal ability 9th grade Negro females definitely planning college, by average grades, father's education, region, and racial composition of schools*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan northeast		Metropolitan midwest		Metropolitan south		Metropolitan west	
		Education of father							
		Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more
A or B	1–20	67 (30)	79 (56)	30 (10)	59 (17)	64 (6)	75 (20)	(6)	69 (29)
	21–50	58 (78)	68 (134)	58 (26)	70 (44)	(5)	67 (12)	82 (11)	91 (23)
	65–100	66 (53)	77 (119)	74 (39)	81 (65)	71 (316)	82 (346)	96 (23)	81 (53)
C or less	1–20	20 (15)	53 (17)	9 (11)	(5)	(4)	50 (8)	(4)	(6)
	21–50	29 (24)	60 (55)	(6)	58 (12)	(1)	(4)	(2)	----------
	65–100	50 (24)	70 (37)	(9)	61 (13)	45 (115)	63 (108)	(2)	(12)

TABLE 8.—*Percentage of lower verbal ability 9th grade Negro females definitely planning college, by average grades, father's education, region, and racial composition of schools*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Region							
		Metropolitan Northeast		Metropolitan Midwest		Metropolitan South		Metropolitan West	
		Education of father							
		Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more	Some high school or less	High school grad or more
A or B	1–20	29 (41)	58 (74)	(8)	44 (16)	(2)	(6)	71 (17)	86 (29)
	21–50	38 (192)	49 (271)	55 (65)	57 (63)	(6)	54 (13)	60 (35)	67 (36)
	65–100	42 (173)	49 (209)	58 (123)	62 (138)	53 (446)	67 (352)	63 (49)	68 (107)
C or less	1–20	3 (33)	43 (53)	32 (38)	40 (25)	67 (4)	(5)	36 (31)	62 (29)
	21–50	22 (169)	40 (196)	23 (87)	41 (70)	(8)	36 (14)	37 (27)	56 (25)
	65–100	23 (142)	43 (152)	33 (120)	41 (98)	39 (539)	50 (303)	45 (51)	63 (101)

Table 9.—*Percentage of 9th grade Negro males in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by ability, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school[1]			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
Upper	1–20	67 (15)	57 (14)	44 (36)	71 (121)
	21–50	44 (45)	58 (103)	48 (46)	62 (141)
	65–100	31 (45)	59 (108)	(8)	71 (62)
Lower	1–20	32 (41)	30 (40)	36 (55)	37 (81)
	21–50	26 (186)	50 (264)	31 (114)	38 (232)
	65–100	32 (240)	39 (365)	50 (38)	54 (99)

[1] For tables 9–18, social class was derived by finding the percent of white-collar fathers in a school, and then dichotomizing at the median separately for each region.

Table 10.—*Percentage of upper ability 9th grade Negro males in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by grades, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
A or B	1–20	(78) (9)	(67) (9)	60 (20)	78 (82)
	21–50	53 (30)	61 (74)	48 (27)	71 (77)
	65–100	32 (25)	58 (74)	(5)	85 (33)
C or less	1–20	(6)	(4)	29 (14)	53 (34)
	21–50	9 (11)	54 (22)	47 (17)	52 (56)
	65–100	33 (15)	64 (31)	(3)	55 (29)

TABLE 11.—*Percentage of lower ability 9th grade Negro males in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by grades, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
A or B	1–20	50 (16)	30 (20)	33 (21)	41 (27)
	21–50	30 (81)	58 (137)	39 (44)	38 (91)
	65–100	39 (90)	52 (177)	50 (14)	61 (31)
C or less	1–20	11 (18)	33 (12)	38 (29)	37 (38)
	21–50	25 (71)	40 (78)	24 (59)	35 (112)
	65–100	28 (112)	28 (131)	48 (21)	56 (55)

TABLE 12.—*Percentage of 9th grade Negro females in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by ability, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
Upper	1–20	50 (16)	78 (18)	50 (30)	70 (56)
	21–50	52 (56)	60 (78)	50 (46)	67 (116)
	65–100	59 (54)	72 (90)	65 (23)	79 (72)
Lower	1–20	19 (21)	51 (35)	17 (54)	52 (100)
	21–50	31 (255)	46 (321)	29 (143)	43 (200)
	65–100	33 (292)	42 (318)	42 (45)	60 (79)

TABLE 13.—*Percentage of upper ability 9th grade Negro females in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by grades, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
A or B	1–20	60 (10)	92 (12)	70 (20)	75 (44)
	21–50	54 (48)	68 (60)	63 (30)	69 (74)
	65–100	66 (38)	75 (67)	67 (15)	81 (52)
C or less	1–20	(6)	(5)	(9)	50 (12)
	21–50	(8)	40 (15)	25 (16)	68 (40)
	65–100	44 (16)	63 (19)	(8)	78 (18)

TABLE 14.—*Percentage of lower ability 9th grade Negro females in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by grades, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Average grades	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
A or B	1–20	25 (16)	53 (19)	32 (25)	60 (55)
	21–50	38 (140)	52 (184)	38 (97)	45 (74)
	65–100	40 (149)	46 (175)	54 (24)	65 (34)
C or less	1–20	(4)	53 (15)	3 (29)	39 (38)
	21–50	20 (95)	38 (197)	24 (52)	41 (87)
	65–100	23 (124)	54 (110)	28 (18)	57 (42)

TABLE 15.—*Percentage of 9th grade white males in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by ability, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
Upper	None	36 (111)	58 (162)	42 (64)	72 (294)
	1–20	48 (416)	60 (590)	51 (675)	77 (3, 043)
	21–50	51 (188)	68 (290)	48 (110)	81 (531)
	65–100	52 (23)	61 (18)	(4)	61 (18)
Lower	None	9 (91)	34 (96)	13 (31)	26 (55)
	1–20	18 (435)	31 (387)	26 (466)	42 (731)
	21–50	23 (329)	35 (279)	32 (85)	53 (158)
	65–100	12 (49)	36 (33)	(3)	(7)

TABLE 16.—*Percentage of 9th grade white females in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by ability, father's education, and racial composition and social class of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Social class of school			
		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father			
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
Upper	None	28 (86)	43 (152)	52 (60)	67 (287)
	1–20	30 (403)	48 (506)	42 (759)	65 (2, 912)
	21–50	35 (254)	54 (278)	45 (125)	66 (513)
	65–100	43 (14)	30 (10)	(4)	(9)
Lower	None	11 (72)	18 (62)	11 (28)	47 (34)
	1–20	11 (473)	22 (294)	16 (465)	33 (657)
	21–50	14 (460)	25 (290)	17 (64)	41 (122)
	65–100	19 (52)	30 (20)	(2)	(9)

Table 17.—*Percentage of 12th grade males in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by ability, father's education, race and racial composition and social class of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Race							
		Negro				White			
		Social class of school							
		Lower		Upper		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father							
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
Upper	None	----------	----------	----------	----------	36 (86)	43 (113)	64 (11)	68 (38)
	1–20	56 (25)	42 (33)	57 (30)	67 (61)	37 (498)	54 (575)	53 (660)	74 (2,446)
	21–50	20 (35)	50 (28)	43 (30)	61 (69)	46 (181)	54 (208)	53 (95)	66 (233)
	65–100	49 (41)	66 (77)	----------	----------	50 (28)	50 (18)	----------	----------
Lower	None	----------	----------	----------	----------	7 (152)	17 (74)	(6)	27 (11)
	1–20	18 (66)	29 (51)	12 (50)	28 (47)	17 (981)	27 (413)	22 (414)	35 (603)
	21–50	15 (167)	24 (145)	24 (74)	40 (100)	17 (322)	31 (182)	23 (60)	36 (103)
	65–100	24 (127)	35 (158)	----------	----------	19 (36)	41 (22)	----------	----------

Table 18.—*Percentage of 12th grade females in the Northeast metropolitan region definitely planning college, by ability, father's education, race and racial composition and social class of school*

Verbal ability	Percent Negro in school	Race							
		Negro				White			
		Social class of school							
		Lower		Upper		Lower		Upper	
		Education of father							
		Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more	Some high school or less	High school graduate or more
Upper	None	------	------	------	------	34 (115)	57 (103)	25 (12)	64 (50)
	1–20	40 (20)	68 (28)	24 (21)	69 (35)	39 (481)	56 (642)	45 (627)	72 (1,957)
	21–50	44 (34)	61 (59)	54 (65)	70 (115)	39 (184)	54 (218)	41 (147)	69 (392)
	65–100	56 (48)	71 (69)	------	------	20 (10)	(5)	------	------
Lower	None	------	------	------	------	6 (105)	18 (68)	(6)	24 (21)
	1–20	21 (81)	38 (53)	26 (58)	20 (35)	14 (659)	22 (386)	12 (485)	33 (624)
	21–50	18 (244)	25 (228)	25 (134)	44 (149)	9 (489)	17 (220)	14 (114)	36 (127)
	65–100	19 (235)	35 (225)	------	------	14 (28)	30 (10)	------	------

Supplementary Table 1.—*Percentage of Metropolitan Northeast 9th grade Negro students definitely planning college, by percent Negro in school, proportion white classmates last year, ability, and sex. (Number of cases in parentheses)*

Sex	Ability level	Percent Negro in school	Proportion white classmates last year				
			None I	Some II	Half III	Most IV	All classes V
Male	Upper ability	1–20	56 (18)	57 (42)	63 (19)	62 (148)	61 (328)
		21–50	45 (60)	57 (113)	53 (116)	55 (159)	54 (488)
		65–100	47 (126)	55 (157)	48 (21)	64 (14)	52 (318)
	Lower ability	1–20	46 (39)	27 (55)	26 (65)	31 (169)	31 (227)
		21–50	34 (302)	31 (452)	34 (269)	41 (276)	34 (1,299)
		65–100	37 (527)	30 (500)	37 (98)	45 (89)	35 (1,294)
Female	Upper ability	1–20	50 (14)	50 (18)	60 (15)	63 (122)	61 (159)
		21–50	60 (60)	52 (192)	52 (101)	62 (168)	57 (421)
		65–100	75 (122)	64 (171)	61 (18)	54 (13)	67 (324)
	Lower ability	1–20	42 (41)	30 (77)	28 (53)	34 (190)	33 (361)
		21–50	34 (466)	27 (531)	33 (374)	37 (313)	32 (1,684)
		65–100	40 (556)	33 (687)	41 (88)	36 (44)	36 (1,375)

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE 2.—*Percentage of Metropolitan Northeast 9th grade Negro students definitely planning college, by proportion white classmates last year, percent Negro in school, and sex. (Number of cases in parentheses)*

Sex	Percent Negro in class	Proportion white classmates last year				
		None I	Some II	Half III	Most IV	All classes V
Male	1–20	49 (57)	40 (97)	34 (84)	45 (317)	43 (555)
	21–50	36 (362)	36 (565)	39 (385)	46 (435)	39 (1,747)
	65–100	39 (653)	36 (737)	39 (119)	48 (103)	38 (1,612)
Female	1–20	44 (55)	32 (85)	35 (68)	46 (312)	42 (520)
	21–50	37 (526)	31 (623)	37 (475)	46 (481)	37 (2,105)
	65–100	46 (678)	39 (858)	44 (106)	40 (57)	42 (1,699)

Supplementary Table 3.—*Verbal achievement score means for 9th grade Negro students in the Metropolitan Northeast, by percent white in class, percent Negro in school, family SES, and school SES*

School SES	Individual family SES	Percent Negro in school	Proportion white in class				
			None 1	Some II	Half III	Most IV	All classes V
Low school SES	Low family SES	1–20	21 (7)	18 (.26)	25 (16)	26 (97)	24 (146)
		21–50	19 (161)	22 (273)	22 (146)	24 (184)	22 (764)
		65–100	20 (333)	21 (513)	21 (63)	20 (44)	21 (953)
	High family SES	1–20	25 (8)	23 (25)	24 (16)	27 (62)	26 (111)
		21–50	20 (161)	23 (219)	23 (145)	25 (185)	23 (705)
		65–100	20 (296)	22 (395)	20 (72)	19 (54)	21 (817)
High school SES	Low family SES	1–20	26 (45)	25 (38)	22 (47)	29 (148)	27 (278)
		21–50	21 (159)	22 (209)	26 (168)	29 (178)	25 (714)
		65–100	25 (158)	25 (116)	26 (21)	20 (8)	25 (303)
	High family SES	1–20	27 (35)	30 (57)	24 (46)	32 (254)	30 (392)
		21–50	23 (191)	23 (238)	27 (227)	32 (228)	21 (884)
		65–100	28 (267)	30 (223)	25 (21)	26 (24)	59 (535)

Appendix C 3

EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF SEGREGATION IN A CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY

(This report was prepared under contract with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by Alan B. Wilson, Survey Research Center, University of California at Berkeley. Data which are reported were collected, in part, with support from a research grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health. Prof. Travis Hirschi and Miss Adrianne Ross supervised the data retrieval operation.)

Introduction

Lively interest focuses upon the topic of de facto school segregation throughout the Nation. While political concensus deploring racial imbalance in schools has been largely attained on a national level, few local districts have substantially altered the demographic composition of their schools during the past decade. The continued immigration of Negroes into core sectors of metropolitan areas in the North and West, accompanied by the relocation of white families to peripheral suburban areas, has sharpened patterns of segregation in urban schools.

The disjunction between manifest national policy urging desegregation and developing demographic patterns of segregation is paralleled by diversity of opinion and uncertainty concerning the facts as to what educational and social consequences actually are attributable directly to school segregation. Gross disparities in educational attainments between Negroes and whites, between social classes, and between schools with contrasting ethnic or social class compositions have been repeatedly documented and publicized over the past years. Yet the extent to which inequities between schools might be attributable to prior differences in the native endowments of the students, diverging familial socialization during infancy, and contrasting extraschool neighborhood experiences has not been clearly analyzed.

The study reported here is intended to isolate effects of segregation *per se* upon the development of academic competence, and the ramifications which segregation may have for students' self-concept, aspirations, and social behavior.

The Sample

The 17,000 students attending 11 public junior and senior high schools in western Contra Costa County—across the bay from San Francisco—in the spring of 1965 constitute the population from which the sample was drawn. This population was stratified by sex, race, school, and grade-level. Random samples were drawn from each stratum. Unequal sampling fractions were applied to different strata so that the sample would contain sufficient numbers of minority-group children to provide an adequate sample base for analysis.[1]

Three-fourths of the sample of 5,545 students drawn from the school rosters ultimately completed an extensive set of questionnaires.[2] The sources of attrition to the original sample included failure to obtain parental permission, 12 percent; absenteeism, 7 percent; students on the roster who had in fact transferred or dropped out, 6 percent; and unusable answer sheets, 1 percent. An analysis of the bias resulting from these sources of attrition [2a] showed small but consistent differences between the students who completed the questionnaire and those who did not. Those who completed the questionnaire were somewhat better students than those whose parents refused, were chronically absent, dropped out, or made numerous response errors. Corrective weights have been applied to the estimates based upon the 4,077 students who remained in the final sample to allow for differential attrition between strata as well as the initial disproportionate sampling.

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[1] The disproportionate sampling required corrective weighting procedures to be applied in analysis. This is described in App. C 3.1, "Weighted Estimation."

[2] These data were collected for the "Richmond Youth Project," supported by NIMH (MH-00970). The survey is described in detail in Alan B. Wilson, Travis Hirschi, and Glen Elder, "Technical Report No. 1: Secondary School Survey" (Berkeley: Survey Research Center, University of California, 1965).

[2a] *Ibid.*

The Community

Western Contra Costa County is primarily an industrial urban area—a part of the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan region. Almost two-thirds of the employed males are manual workers.

Prior to World War II, Richmond was a gradually expanding, politically stable community enjoying the prosperity stemming from one of the finest deep-water harbors on the West Coast. Less than 1 percent of the population in 1940 were Negroes. During World War II, as a direct consequence of wartime industry, the population in the western county quadrupled—growing from 39,100 to 155,200 between 1940 and 1950. Active recruitment and the attraction of shipyard employment brought large numbers of Negroes into the community from the South and Southwest. After the war, despite declining employment opportunities, most of these immigrants remained. The proportion of Negroes in the western part of the county was 12 percent in 1960. The great majority of the Negro population is concentrated in a strip in western Richmond, running from the completely segregated Negro communities in North Richmond and Parchester Village through the rapidly deteriorating central shopping district into South Richmond. The racial distribution of the population is illustrated in Figure 1.

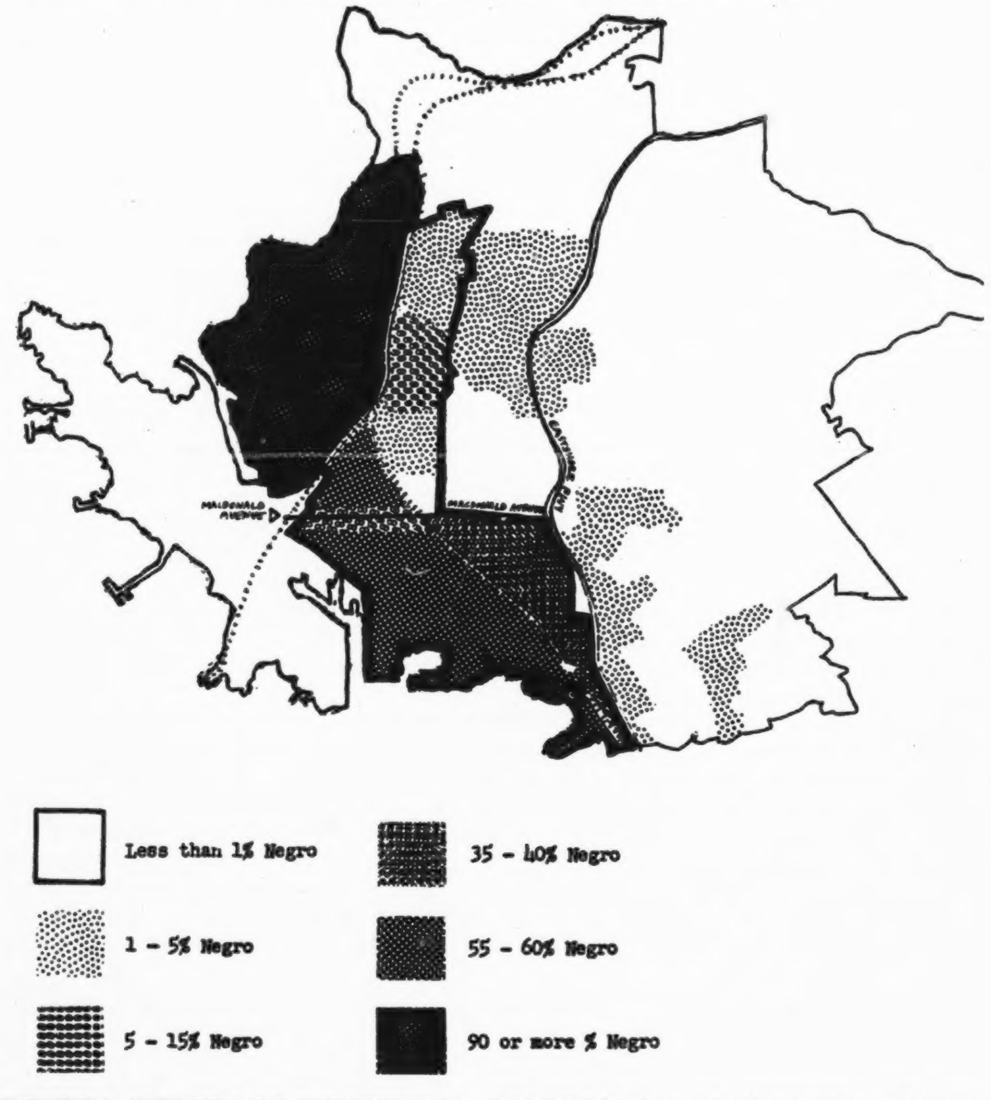

FIGURE 1. DEGREE OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN WESTERN CONTRA COSTA COUNTY.

1. NEIGHBORHOODS AND SCHOOLS

Richmond, like most urban areas, is divided into fairly well-defined social areas. The well-to-do live on the wooded hillsides commanding a panoramic view of the San Francisco Bay; the poor live in tracts, projects, or older dwellings on the flatlands near railroad tracks and industrial plants. Median family incomes in the Kensington Highlands are more than twice as high as the incomes of families living in North Richmond. Selected statistics from the 1960 census illustrate this contrast in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—*Selected contrasts between North Richmond and the Kensington Highlands in western Contra Costa County* [1]

Variable	North Richmond	Kensington Highlands
Median family income	$4,515	$10,757
Median value of housing	$8,500	$23,000
Percent of male labor force, professional	2.1	45.3
Percent of male labor force, blue-collar	87.7	12.3
Male unemployment	27.7	1.4
Percent of houses with 1.01 occupants per room	27.9	1.2
Percent of sound housing	78.5	99.6

[1] Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of the Population and Housing: 1960, Census Tracts, San-Francisco-Oakland, Calif.*, PHC(1) 137, Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

The home residence of each student in the sample was recorded for each grade that he had attended a local school. Each of these 35,000 recorded addresses was located in one of 250 enumeration districts—small geographic areas containing about 200 households each. The percentage of the school-age residents of each of these 250 districts who were Negroes, and the percentage who came from families headed by unskilled laborers, domestics, unemployed persons, or welfare recipients, was calculated for each year by aggregating characteristics of the students living in the district that year.[3]

Two additional operations were performed to broaden the base of estimation. The neighborhood of each student was defined as the district in which he lived together with those geographically contiguous districts which were not set apart by natural obstacles or major highways. The aggregation from each district was then extended over the adjacent districts so that the neighborhoods overlapped one another. Finally, the composition of the neighborhood of each student was averaged within each of four grade levels: (1) the primary grades, 1 through 3; (2) the intermediate grades, 4 through 6; (3) the junior high school grades, 7 through 9, and (4) the senior high school grades, 10 through 12.

Analogous calculations were made of the characteristics—percent Negro and lower class—of the schools attended by each student at each grade level. These percentages, too, were then averaged over the same four educational levels for each student.

These data processing operations yielded 16 variables central to the analysis which follows—the percentages of Negro and of lower-class schoolmates in the neighborhood and in the school environments of each student at each 4 educational levels.

Because of the overlap of caste and class—the disproportional representation of Negroes in the lower class—many more Negroes than whites live in predominantly lower-class neighborhoods. The average percentage of lower class schoolmates in the neighborhoods of Negro students is 48 percent as contrasted with 19 percent for white students.

Table 2 shows that Caucasians tend to live in neighborhoods which are socioeconomically homogeneous. Thus most professional and managerial whites live in areas where there are few lower-class persons. Negroes, by contrast, regardless of their own occupational status, live in neighborhoods with disproportionate lower-class representation. Two-thirds of the Caucasian students whose fathers are white-collar workers, for example, live in neighborhoods where fewer than 20 percent of the students are in lower-class homes; only 6 percent of their Negro white-collar compeers live in such neighborhoods.

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[3] This procedure automatically allows for variation in demographic composition over time due to internal migration and immigration, but makes no allowance for selective emigration.

TABLE 2.—*Percentages of junior high school students living in neighborhoods characterized by varying percentages of lower-class schoolmates, according to family status and race*

Family status Race	Sample number	Proportion of lower-class schoolmates in neighborhood				Average percentage of lower-class schoolmates
		00-09	10-19	20-49	50-100	
Professional and managerial:						
Negro	78	12	9	39	40	40
White	389	48	35	17	------	11
White collar:						
Negro	296	5	1	56	38	44
White	530	32	35	31	2	17
Semiskilled and skilled manual:						
Negro	314	2	2	52	44	46
White	570	22	35	41	2	19
Lower-class:						
Negro	833	------	1	43	56	50
White	362	6	22	58	14	30
Total:						
Negro	1,689	2	2	47	49	48
White	1,983	27	32	38	4	19

The irrelevance of personal occupational status for the contextual neighborhood status of Negroes is due to residential segregation by race. Most Negroes, whether engaged in white-collar work, blue-collar work, or no work, live in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. The vast majority of whites live in white neighborhoods.

Table 3 shows that 84 percent of the Negro students whose fathers are white-collar workers live in neighborhoods where over half of their school-aged cohorts are Negroes. By contrast, 91 percent of white children with white-collar fathers live in neighborhoods where fewer than 10 percent of the children are Negroes.

TABLE 3.—*Percentages of junior high school students living in neighborhoods characterized by varying percentages of Negro schoolmates, according to family status and race*

Family status Race	Sample number	Proportion of Negro schoolmates in neighborhood				Average percentage
		00-09	10-19	20-49	50-100	
Professional and managerial:						
Negro	78	21	2		74	65
White	389	96	2	1	1	2
White collar:						
Negro	296	8	3	5	84	72
White	530	91	4	3	2	4
Semiskilled and skilled manual:						
Negro	314	3	4	5	88	76
White	570	91	3	4	2	4
Lower-class:						
Negro	833	3	2	5	90	78
White	362	84	2	6	8	9
Total:						
Negro	1,689	5	3	5	87	76
White	1,983	91	3	3	3	5

While Tables 2 and 3 have used the junior-high school years to illustrate the contrasts in neighborhood environments of Negroes and whites, there is little variation in the pattern of neighborhoods for children as they pass from elementary grades through junior high into high school. The only systematic difference between the patterns of segregation at different age levels shown in Table 4 is a slight increase over the school years in the proportion of Negro students living in neighborhoods where more than half their schoolmates are lower class.

TABLE 4.—*Percentage of students living in neighborhoods characterized by varying proportions of lower-class schoolmates, according to grade level and race*

Race	Sample No.	Proportion of lower-class schoolmates in neighborhood				Average percentage of lower-class schoolmates
		0-9	10-19	20-49	50-100	
A. Primary grades (1-3):						
Negro	1, 326	1	1	61	36	47
White	1, 521	27	26	43	4	21
B. Intermediate school grades (4-6):						
Negro	1, 478	1	1	53	44	48
White	1, 737	28	30	39	4	19
C. Junior high school grades (7-9):						
Negro	1, 689	2	2	47	49	48
White	1, 983	27	32	37	4	19
D. Senior high school grades (10-12):						
Negro	1, 033	2	2	46	49	48
White	1, 369	26	33	37	4	19

TABLE 5.—*Percentage of students living in neighborhoods characterized by varying proportions of Negro schoolmates, according to grade level and race*

Race	Sample No.	Proportion of Negro schoolmates in neighborhood				Average percentage of Negro schoolmates
		0-9	10-19	20-49	50-100	
A. Primary grades (1-3):						
Negro	1, 326	2	3	9	86	74
White	1, 521	87	6	4	3	6
B. Intermediate grades (4-6):						
Negro	1, 478	4	2	7	87	75
White	1, 737	90	3	4	3	5
C. Junior high school grades (7-9):						
Negro	1, 689	5	3	5	87	76
White	1, 983	91	3	3	3	5
D. Senior high school grades (10-12):						
Negro	1, 033	3	4	4	89	77
White	1, 369	91	4	2	3	4

This increase reflects the gradual trend in the community over the past decade toward increasing racial segregation—the immigration of lower-class Negroes into Western Richmond, by the bay, and the exodus of white families to San Pablo and the surrounding suburban areas.

While the neighborhood contexts of Negro and white children of various occupational levels remain fairly constant over the school years, the school contexts vary drastically. On the average, for the Negro child, two-thirds of his elementary schoolmates are Negroes, half of his junior high schoolmates, and a quarter of his senior high schoolmates.

TABLE 6.—*Average percentages of Negro schoolmates, and of lower-class schoolmates, in the schools of students, according to race, family status, and grade level*

Family status	Average percentage of Negro schoolmates		Average percentage of lower-class schoolmates	
	Negroes	Whites	Negroes	Whites
A. Primary grades (1–3):				
Professional and managerial	55	2	39	13
White collar	66	6	44	19
Semiskilled and skilled manual	68	6	45	20
Lower class	71	11	48	28
B. Intermediate grades (4–6):				
Professional and managerial	62	2	40	12
White collar	67	5	44	18
Semiskilled and skilled manual	70	5	45	20
Lower class	73	11	49	29
C. Junior high grades (7–9):				
Professional and managerial	39	6	33	16
White collar	47	11	37	21
Semiskilled and skilled manual	50	12	38	23
Lower class	48	17	39	26
D. Senior high grades (10–12):				
Professional and managerial	22	13	26	18
White collar	26	15	28	22
Semiskilled and skilled manual	27	15	29	24
Lower class	27	18	30	27

There is a parallel, but less marked, decline in the average proportion of lower-class schoolmates in the schools attended by Negroes—from 46 percent to 30 percent.

White children, on the average, experienced a change in school composition in the opposite direction—toward slightly increasing proportions of Negro and of lower-class schoolmates as they progress from elementary to junior high to senior high school.

The process of averaging, particularly for white children, obscures much more drastic shifts in context for some than for others. The large number of white children who attend schools which feed into virtually all-white high schools experience little change in social composition. Those who attended segregated elementary schools which feed into integrated junior and senior high schools experienced a sharp change. Table 7 illustrates the wide variation in contextual patterns typical of students who start in virtually all-white elementary schools and continue to live in all-white neighborhoods.

TABLE 7.—*Percentages of Negro students and of lower-class students in sets of feeder schools which represent slight and sharp contextual change*

Slight change				Sharp change			
School		Context		School		Context	
Level	Name	Percent Negro	Percent low SES	Level	Name	Percent Negro	Percent low SES
Elementary	Del Mar	2	7	Elementary	Mira Vista	0	13
Junior high	Portola	4	11	Junior high	Adams	3	20
Senior high	El Cerrito	9	10	Senior high	Ells	33	30

2. PRIMARY SCHOOL VARIATION IN COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Our primary interest in this study is to assess the effects of the social composition of the school upon educational attainments of the students who pass through it. In cross-sectional studies, in which all variables measure characteristics at one point of time, it is difficult to separate differences due to school experience from those present at the time of entrance into the school. A common analytical tactic in such studies has been to hold intelligence test scores "constant" on the assumption that by doing so initial differences in native ability or prior education will be removed. The ambiguous theoretical status of measures of intelligence has, however, made such a solution less than convincing.

Most behavioral scientists would agree that measured intelligence is a function of both biological endowments and environmental influences, but that we do have no definitive way of allocating the proportion of variation due to each factor.[4] Concomitant measures of intelligence and verbal achievement are to a great degree redundant. To the extent that both measure developed verbal abilities, it makes little sense to statistically control for variations in measured intelligence while examining effects of prior social variables upon achievement.[5] This would be like asking what effect does the social environment have upon the development of a particular intellectual competence when the effects of the social environment as well as native endowment on academic development are removed. On the other hand, to the extent that variations in achievement are determined by differences in genetic endowment, the sociocultural impact is overemphasized by ignoring differences in intelligence.[6] The middle-class student may in fact do better in school simply because he was better equipped from the beginning.

Even though we, of course, cannot resolve variations in measured intelligence into quantitative factors reflecting environmental and hereditary influences, the data obtained in this study enables us to control for initial differences in ability at the primary grade level, when the children have just started school, whatever their source. We can then isolate the differentiating effects of intervening experiences upon subsequent academic achievement in the higher grades. Thus the question as to the extent to which an IQ test taps innate or cultural influences is irrelevant. Control of an intelligence test score administered soon after entrance into school matches children in the effects of both preschool environment and genetic differences. Changes which occur subsequent to school entrance may thus be attributed to new or continuing experiences, and not to uncontrolled initial differences. The plague of the cross-sectional study is effectively removed. The simplified schematization in Figure 2 illustrates the causal ordering of the variables we are considering.

According to this model, when we control for primary grade IQ test scores in the analysis of academic achievement in higher grade levels which appear in subsequent sections of this report, we will be controlling for the differences between children in intellectual development in their first years in school.

Differences between social groups in measured intelligence are, of course, well established. Tables 8 through 11 report the average IQ test scores of Negro and white students, classified by family status, at four age levels.

This set of four tables illustrates two patterns—both of which are consistent with other survey studies. First, the disparity in attainment between Negroes and whites increases through the school years. There is a difference of 9 IQ points between the average

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[4] See, e.g., G. A. Ferguson, "On Learning and Human Ability," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, VIII (1954), 95–112, and J. McV. Hunt, *Intelligence and Experience* (New York: Ronald Press, 1961).

[5] James Coleman's position that "ability tests are simply broader and more general measures of education, while achievement tests are narrower measures directed to a restricted subject area," in *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, *op. cit.*, 293, sharply points up the circularity of explaining one measure by the other.

[6] The recent interchange "In Neighborhood Context and College Plans," *American Sociological Review*, XXXI (October 1966), 698–712, between Ralph H. Turner, John A. Michael, and Richard P. Boyle who question the independence of measured intelligence, and William H. Sewell and J. Michael Armer who argue for controlling variation in intelligence illustrates this theoretical ambiguity.

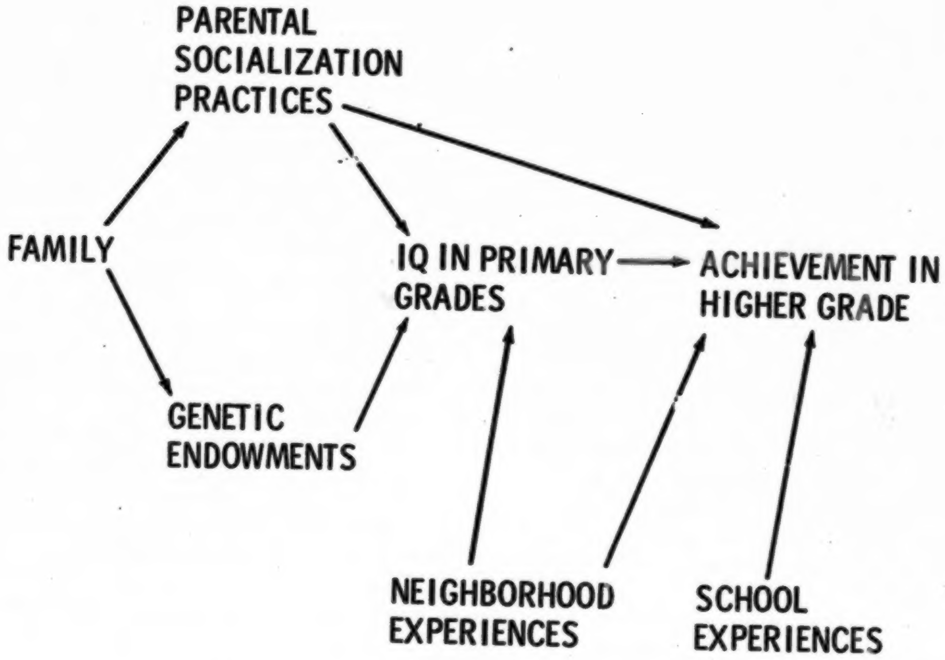
PARENTAL SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES
FAMILY
IQ IN PRIMARY GRADES
ACHIEVEMENT IN HIGHER GRADE
GENETIC ENDOWMENTS
NEIGHBORHOOD EXPERIENCES
SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

Figure 2. Causal ordering among determinants of academic achievement.

TABLE 8.—*Mean primary-grade California Mental Maturity IQ Test scores by race, sex, and family status*

Sex Family status	Negroes		Whites	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
Males:				
Professional and managerial	31	100	210	114
White collar	141	101	278	113
Semiskilled and skilled manual	128	102	301	109
Lower class	355	103	189	107
Females:				
Professional and managerial	28	101	84	116
White collar	95	105	119	110
Semiskilled and skilled manual	125	102	125	111
Lower class	310	102	86	107
Total	1, 350	102	1, 495	111

Table 9.—*Mean 6th grade Henmon-Nelson IQ Test scores by race, sex, and family status*

Sex Family Status	Negroes		Whites	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
Males:				
Professional and managerial	37	95	244	111
White collar	150	90	333	106
Semiskilled and skilled manual	143	94	368	102
Lower class	407	92	220	98
Females:				
Professional and managerial	36	98	100	112
White collar	114	96	135	108
Semiskilled and skilled manual	137	95	147	105
Lower class	339	93	100	100
Total	1, 507	93	1, 765	105

Table 10.—*Mean 8th grade Henmon-Nelson IQ Test scores by race, sex, and family status*

Sex Family Status	Negroes		Whites	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
Males:				
Professional and managerial	44	93	287	111
White collar	173	89	383	105
Semiskilled and skilled manual	170	92	405	102
Lower class	450	88	248	97
Females:				
Professional and managerial	40	94	115	111
White collar	133	94	156	106
Semiskilled and skilled manual	157	91	174	104
Lower class	386	91	123	100
Total	1, 722	90	2, 029	104

Table 11.—*Mean 11th grade Henmon-Nelson IQ Test scores by race, sex, and family status*

Sex Family Status	Negroes		Whites	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
Males:				
Professional and managerial	14	103	134	111
White collar	68	90	181	105
Semiskilled and skilled manual	56	89	195	103
Lower class	170	88	108	100
Females:				
Professional and managerial	13	93	57	113
White collar	53	94	70	104
Semiskilled and skilled manual	56	93	91	102
Lower class	145	89	51	99
Total	623	90	934	105

Negro and white test scores in the primary grades. The difference between these two groups in senior high school is 15 points.[7]

Second, family status makes a substantial difference in the performance of white students but makes a negligible difference in the performance of Negroes. The lack of effect among Negroes is partly attributable to the fact that the status differences between Negro occupational groups are not as great as among white groups. Ministers, for example, are routinely coded as "professional." Among Negroes, however, many ministers are ill-educated, and some actually combined ministry with casual labor.

It was assumed—as shown in the model illustrated in Figure 2—that school segregation could have no impact on primary-grade development. Actually, the tests used to estimate primary grade attainment were administered after the students had been in school for some time. (See Appendix 3.) Social characteristics of the neighborhood, however, are a part of the socializing environment of preschool children, and could have some impact reinforcing or counteracting the influence of the family.

An analysis of the data shows, however, that the neighborhood context does not have a significant independent effect on primary school attainments as reflected by these test scores. In Table 12, we can see that neither the proportion of lower-class children nor the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood makes any systematic difference to the IQ test scores of either Negro or white children within any social stratum. A covariance analysis, treating the proportion of lower-class children as a continuous variable, and controlling for additional familial characteristics, confirms that the effect of neighborhood context is not statistically significant. This analysis is summarized in Table 13.[8]

In spite of the substantial and conspicuous differences in school performance of children living in different parts of town, the lack of an independent neighborhood effect at this age level is not surprising. During preschool years the family is clearly the most important socializing agency for the child. The salience of peers and of socializing institutions outside of the family does not appear until later.

At the time the student enters school there is a great deal of variation in educational attainment. Correlates of this variation, such as race, family socio-economic status, and the cultural level of the home have already appeared. Analysis of subsequent variation in the cross-sectional study thus risks mistaking original differences for differences produced by subsequent experiences in the school and community.

Control of initial variation in educational attainment, as is possible in the present study, provides a method of estimating experimental effects without running this risk. Subsequent differences outside the school and to some extent independent of neighborhood remain, however, as possible counter-explanations of observed results. One of these differences, which has a great deal of appeal as an explanation of Negro-white differences in school performance, is discussed in the section which follows.

3. FATHER ABSENCE AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

One of the circumstances which has long been held responsible for a variety of social ills is the broken home. William Goode, remarking on the lack of research on the effect of divorce on children, comments, "It would be surprising if the absence of the father had no effect on the child." [8a] Several recent studies have suggested that father absence does generate sex-role identification problems.[9]

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[7] The sample, of course, consists of students who had not dropped out of school in 1964–65. Test norms, however, are also developed on school populations which exclude drop-outs.

[8] See Appendix 2 for a technical note on the covariance analysis.

[8a] W. J. Goode, *After Divorce* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956). Leon J. Yarrow, in "Separation from Parents During Early Childhood," *Review of Child Development Research*, ed. by Martin L. Hoffman and Lois Weadis Hoffman (I: New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964), pp. 117–21, similarly comments upon the paucity of theory and research.

[9] Roger V. Burton and John W. M. Whiting, "The Absent Father and Cross-Sex Identity," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development*, VII (1961), 85–95, elaborate a theory of identification, present supporting cross-cultural evidence, and review some relevant research. See also Joan McCord, William McCord, and Emily Thurber, "Some Effects of Paternal Absence on Male Children," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LXIV (1962), 361–69.

Table 12.—*Mean 1st-grade California Mental Maturity Test scores by race, percent Negro in neighborhood, family status, and percent lower class in neighborhood during primary grades*

Family Status Percent lower class	Negro—percent Negro in neighborhood			White—percent Negro in neighborhood		
	50-100	10-49	00-09	50-100	10-49	00-09
Profession and managerial:						
50–100 percent	99 (13)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(1)
10–49 percent	102 (26)	(4)	(1)	(0)	106 (14)	112 (122)
00–09 percent	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(1)	120 (129)
White collar:						
50–100 percent	101 (60)	(4)	(0)	(3)	(3)	(4)
10–49 percent	102 (127)	108 (21)	(4)	(9)	106 (28)	113 (201)
00–09 percent	(0)	(0)	(4)	(0)	(2)	111 (124)
Semi-skilled and skilled manual:						
50–100 percent	103 (63)	(4)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(4)
10–49 percent	100 (147)	104 (14)	(7)	(9)	110 (34)	109 (261)
00–09 percent	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(3)	112 (95)
Lower-class:						
50–100 percent	101 (260)	(7)	(0)	(8)	105 (12)	109 (24)
10–49 percent	103 (302)	100 (62)	(6)	(9)	108 (31)	107 (166)
00–09 percent	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(8)

TABLE 13.—*Sources of variation of primary-grade California Mental Maturity IQ Test scores*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression[1] coefficients	
	Sample Number	Estimated Mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class primary neighborhood				[2] −0.02
Lack of supervision by mother				−.05
Number of objects in home				+.12
Number of siblings				−.07
Family status				[3] .16
Professional and managerial	285	116	+4.1	+.12
White collar	503	110	+.0	+.00
Semiskilled and skilled manual	557	109	−.7	−.03
Lower[4]	721	105	−2.0	−.07
Race				[3] .17
Negro	886	102	−4.3	−.14
White	1,180	111	+1.0	+.03
Total (R=0.38)	2,066	109		

[1] See App. B for a discussion of covariance analyses.

[2] Not statistically significant. Throughout this report all partial regression coefficients have been evaluated by comparing the reduction in the sum of squares due to fitting constants when a variable is included, and when it is excluded, from the analysis. Variables have been flagged wherever the ratio of the variance due to regression over the uncontrolled variance is less than what might be expected by chance 2.5 percent of the time under simple random sampling conditions. The stratified disproportionate sampling in this study, and the interdependence of many of the tables appearing in this report, make affirmative application of tests of significance inappropriate.

[3] This underlined *beta*—normalized regression coefficient—summarizes the effects of the classes of the nominal variable. See James N. Morgan, *et al.*, *Income and Welfare in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), pp. 508-511, for a discussion of the calculation and rationale.

[4] "Lower" includes unskilled laborers, unemployed persons, domestics, and welfare recipients.

Negro families are much more likely than white families to be broken. In 1960, 23 percent of urban Negro families, as contrasted with 9 percent of white families, were headed by women.[10] The rates of broken homes among Negroes and whites in this California community are almost identical—22 percent as contrasted with 9.5 percent.[11] This difference is so universal and so pronounced that it offers a tempting explanation of developmental differences between Negro and white children in school.

Reviewing the historical devastation of the Negro family during the era of slavery, and the effects of continuing economic marginality, Martin Deutsch concludes:

". . . All these circumstances have contributed to the instability of the Negro family, and particularly to the fact that it was most often broken by the absence of the father. As a result, the lower-class Negro child entering school often has no experience with a 'successful' male model or thereby with a psychological framework in which effort can result in at least the possibility of achievement." [12]

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[10] Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1965), pp. 61 and 64.

[11] Alan B. Wilson, "Western Contra Costa County, 1965: Demographic Characteristics," (Berkeley: Survey Research Center, University of California, 1966; mimeographed).

[12] Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," *Education in Depressed Areas*, ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 167. David and Pearl Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," in *Education in Depressed Areas*, *op. cit.*, p. 124, similarly report "The greater frequency of broken homes, unemployment, and negative family atmosphere, as well as the high rate of pupil turnover, are also not conducive to academic achievement."

In his recent policy report on the Negro family, Daniel Moynihan argues that the frequency of father-absent homes among Negroes is a prime cause of their poor school achievement, and, partly through this failure to develop competence, of their later occupational difficulties. "The effect of broken families on the preformance of Negro youth," he states, "has not been extensively measured, but studies that have been made show an unmistakable influence."[13]

As Moynihan observed, however, the empirical evidence upon which the connection is based is sparse—conspicuous more for its absence than presence in the research literature. Robins, Jones, and Murphy, for example, in their study of the backgrounds of achievement of Negro elementary school children in St. Louis in 1937–38, comment, "Surprisingly, whether or not a child's father was in the home appeared unrelated to the child's academic and behavior problem."[14] The recent national survey directed by James Coleman[15] likewise found that the structural integrity of the home shows little relationship to achievement for Negroes.

A study of several indicators of academic success in the Richmond secondary schools does not show any consistent difference in the achievement of father-present and father-absent youths of the same sex and race, and of similar social-class background.

For example, when we look at the percentages of lower-class students who have high cumulative grade-point averages in English, in Table 14 below, we see that while far more girls receive high grades than boys, and more Caucasian children receive high grades than Negroes, there is very little difference within these groups between those who have fathers in the home and those who do not.

Indeed, those boys with no father in the home more frequently receive somewhat better grades.

TABLE 14.—*Percentages of lower-class students having high cumulative grade-poin averages in English by race, sex, and father-presence or father-absence*

Family structure	White		Negro	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Father present	52 (184)	75 (82)	46 (251)	64 (201)
Father absent	63 (28)	73 (12)	49 (74)	60 (59)

Convariance analyses among lower class children of several of the measures of academic development at various age levels, shown in Table 15, shows that in no case does father-absence have a significant effect.

Neither our own data nor the preponderance of evidence from other research studies indicate that father presence or absence, *per se*, is related to school achievement. While broken homes reflect the existence of social and personal problems, and have some consequences for the development of personality,[16] broken homes do not have any systematic affect on the overall level of school success.

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[13] Office of Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Moynihan cites in evidence census data showing fewer school-aged children enrolled in school among single-parent families, and a study by Martin Deutsch and Bert Brown, "Social Influences in Negro-White Intelligence Differences," the *Journal of Social Issues*, XX (April 1964), 24–35. Another influential policy statement, James Bryant Conant's, *Slums and Suburbs* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), pp. 18–27, also implies a connection.

[14] Lee N. Robins, Robin S. Jones, and George E. Murphy, "School Milieu and School Problems of Negro Boys," *Social Problems*, XIII (Spring, 1966), 431.

[15] James S. Coleman *et al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 302.

[16] A study by Lyn Carlsmith, "Effect of Early Father Absence on Scholastic Aptitude," *Harvard Educational Review*, xxxiv (Winter, 1964), 3–21, suggests that the learning of a sex-role identity affects one's conceptual style so that students whose fathers were absent, particularly at an early age, are relatively more proficient in verbal than in mathematical tests. The criterion tests used in this study have been primarily verbal—as is the curriculum of secondary education.

TABLE 15.—*Sources of variation of verbal test scores among lower class children at different grade levels*

Source of variation	Sample		Regression	
	Number	Mean	Raw	Normalized
A. 1st-grade California Mental Maturity IQ Test scores:				
Lack of supervision by mother				[1] −0.01
Objects in home				+.11
Number of siblings				−.09
Family structure				[1] .04
Father present	552	105	−0.2	−.01
Father absent	194	105	+.8	+.03
Sex				[1] .01
Male	419	105	−.1	−.00
Female	327	105	+.1	+.00
Race				.21
Negro	506	101	−2.6	−.13
White	240	107	+1.7	+.08
B. 3d-grade Stanford Reading Achievement Test grade-level scores:				
Lack of supervision by mother				[1] +.02
Objects in home				+.12
Number of siblings				[1] −.03
Family structure				[1] .03
Father present	552	3.4	−.01	−.01
Father absent	194	3.4	+.05	+.03
Sex				.12
Male	419	3.3	−.10	−.06
Female	327	3.5	+.08	+.05
Race				.24
Negro	506	3.2	−.23	−.14
White	240	3.6	+.15	+.10
C. 6th-grade Stanford Reading Achievement Test grade-level scores:				
Lack of supervision by mother				[1] −.03
Objects in home				+.14
Number of siblings				−.08
Family structure				[1] .04
Father present	552	5.4	+.03	+.01
Father absent	194	5.1	−.12	−.03
Sex				[1] .01
Male	419	5.4	−.01	−.00
Female	327	5.4	+.01	+.00
Race				.17
Negro	506	4.9	−.30	−.10
White	240	5.7	+.20	+.07

[1] Not statistically significant.

Table 15.—*Sources of variation of verbal test scores among lower class children at different grade levels*—Continued

Source of variation	Sample		Regression	
	Number	Mean	Raw	Normalized
D. 8th-grade Differential Aptitude Verbal Ability Test percentile scores:				
Lack of supervision by mother				[1] −.04
Objects in home				+.18
Number of siblings				−.06
Family structure				[1] .01
Father present	552	37	−0.1	−.00
Father absent	194	33	+0.3	+.00
Sex				.09
Male	419	39	+2.7	+.05
Female	327	34	−2.2	−.04
Race				.24
Negro	506	25	−8.1	−.14
White	240	43	+5.4	+.10

[1] Not statistically significant.

In the analysis of achievement in subsequent sections of this report, this aspect of family structure will be ignored. The category of family status dubbed "lower" in ensuing tables includes both father-present homes where the father is unskilled or unemployed, and father-absent homes where the mother is a domestic, welfare recipient, or is unemployed and has less than a high school education.

4. NEIGHBORHOOD AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN ELEMENTARY GRADES

At grade 6 Negro students are 1.7 years behind white students on the average in reading development in this California community. This disparity is almost identical to the average difference between Negroes and whites throughout the metropolitan West.[17] At grade 3 the disparity was slightly less than 1 year. The mean grade level "Stanford Reading Achievement Test" score in grade 3 for whites was 4.0. The mean in grade 3 for Negroes was 3.2. The increasing disparity through the school years between the privileged and the disadvantaged has been repeatedly documented.

Many plausible reasons for this increasing gap have been suggested: the cumulative deficit of skills and knowledge, increasing inattentivity and demoralization in school, continuing inadequacy of parental stimulation and support, the earlier independence from the family, and growing influence of peers for lower class youths.

We are particularly interested, in this section, in examining and comparing the effects of school and neighborhood segregation during the elementary school years upon this racial disparity. When the achievement of students in these different social contexts is contrasted we find differences which are larger than those between Negroes and whites. The average sixth-grade reading level of children who had attended primary schools with fewer than 10-percent lower-class children, for example, was 7.4; children who went to schools where a majority of their classmates were lower-class, however, averaged only 4.9 in the sixth grade.

This contrast, and all of the others listed in Table 16, below, are compounded, of course, with one another. Most Negroes live in predominantly Negro areas and attend predominantly Negro schools, as described in section 1.

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[17] Coleman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Table 3.121.1, p. 274, shows a difference of 1.6 years between Negroes and whites at grade 6.

TABLE 16.—*Mean 6th grade Stanford Reading Achievement Test grade-level scores according to several variables*

Variable category	Sample Number	Mean
Lower-class primary school:		
00–09 percent	218	7. 4
10–49 percent	1, 452	6. 3
50–100 percent	407	4. 9
Negro primary school:		
00–09 percent	1, 052	6. 8
10–49 percent	244	5. 6
50–100 percent	781	5. 0
Lower-class primary neighborhood:		
00–09 percent	337	7. 2
10–49 percent	1, 358	6. 2
50–100 percent	382	5. 2
Negro primary neighborhood:		
00–09 percent	1, 046	6. 8
10–49 percent	208	5. 9
50–100 percent	823	5. 0
Family status:		
Professional and managerial	282	7. 4
White collar	504	6. 8
Semiskilled and skilled manual	557	6. 1
Lower class	734	5. 4
Race:		
Negro	905	5. 0
White	1, 172	6. 7
Total	2, 077	6. 3

There are several important questions to be answered by analysis of the interrelationships among these variables. When we allow for the pre-existing differences in primary-grade mental maturity, do the intervening contextual variables have any independent effect on achievement? If so, is the neighborhood or the school context more important? Also, do family characteristics have any direct effect on achievement in addition to their effects through preschool socialization and determination of social context?

Before examining the data, the distinction between neighborhood and school contexts should be re-emphasized. The neighborhood consists of the several blocks surrounding the home of each student—ignoring school boundaries. Students living at the periphery of an elementary school boundary may have as neighbors children who attend a different school. Also, if an elementary school covers areas with varying demographic characteristics, a student's school and immediate neighborhood may be quite different in composition.

The multivariate analysis implied by these questions is summarized in Table 17. This analysis shows that, allowing for variation in primary-grade mental maturity, the social-class composition of the primary school has the largest independent effect upon 6th-grade reading level. Among students who attended schools with similar social-class composition, neither the racial composition of the school nor the characteristics of the neighborhood made any difference.

The lack of any direct effect of neighborhood composition—either racial or socioeconomic—upon measured school achievement is of considerable consequence for policy and theory. One continuing reservation about the relevance of proposals to alter the demographic composition of schools is the question as to whether continuing residential segregation might structure the effective environment of students so that their integration in schools makes no difference. These data are inconsistent with this reservation. On the contrary, these data suggest that the effect of neighborhood segregation upon achievement is entirely through the resulting segregation of neighborhood schools on social-class lines. Restructuring the composition of schools, even in the absence of residential rearrangements, can be expected to have an effect upon the academic achievement of students.

TABLE 17.—*Sources of variation of 6th grade Stanford Reading Achievement Test scores*

Source of variation	Marginal Relations		Partial Regression Coefficients	
	Sample Number	Estimated Mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class primary school	--------	--------	--------	−0.12
Negro primary school	--------	--------	--------	[1]+.01
Lower-class primary neighborhood	--------	--------	--------	[1]−.01
Negro primary neighborhood	--------	--------	--------	[1]−0
Primary-grade mental maturity	--------	--------	--------	+.15
Lack of supervision by mother	--------	--------	--------	−.04
Number of objects in home	--------	--------	--------	+.07
Family status	--------	--------	--------	.08
Professional and managerial	282	7.4	+0.3	+.03
White collar	504	6.8	+.3	+.04
Semiskilled and skilled manual	558	6.1	−.2	−.02
Lower-class	734	5.4	−.3	−.04
Race	--------	--------	--------	[1].01
Negro	905	5.0	−.1	−.01
White	1,173	6.7	+0	+.00
Total variance joint effect (R=0.31)	2,078	6.3	--------	--------

[1] Not statistically significant.

The theoretical significance of this relationship is its import for the probable mechanisms through which segregation influences achievement. The view that this mechanism is primarily an osmotic process of transmission of values and behavior patterns among peers would lead us to expect that neighborhood segregation would have at least as large an effect upon educational outcomes as school segregation. Even within schools residential proximity has been shown to be a factor in the selection of friends and social contacts among students.

Since, however, this is not the case, we should look to modes of influence more specific to the school situation. While peers may have an influence, it is their behavior in the school settings—not their generalized attitudes as expressed out of school—which we should focus upon to illuminate the process of influence. Variations in the modal socioeconomic composition of a school, and accompanying variation in cognitive development in the primary grades, generate norms of interpersonal behavior and role-expectations which acquire a force of their own and have a redounding impact upon the students in the situation. The proportion of time teachers devote to behavioral control as opposed to academic instruction, the level and pace of group instruction, the standards of excellence and adequacy, the expectations for role-performance—the "definition of the situation," the morale, competence, and commitment of teachers, all systematically vary by the class composition of schools.[18] These factors, along with the model of schoolmates, intervene and interpret the effect of modal socioeconomic composition.

The second substantive point brought out in Table 17 was the fact that the racial composition of the elementary school does not have any independent effect, over and above the social-class composition of the school, upon achievement. This finding is of sufficient importance that it will be reconfirmed and elaborated in detail in a separate section to follow (section 5). The central importance placed upon racial balance in schools may be somewhat off the mark. But let us return to this after examining more relevant data.

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[18] E.g., Robert E. Herriott and Nancy Hoyt St. John, "Social Class and the Urban School" (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), and A. Harry Passow, ed., *Education in Depressed Areas* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1963), *passim*.

Finally, after allowing for the effects of family status and caste upon preschool cognitive development, as indicated by the primary grade IQ test, we see that their direct additional effect upon later elementary school verbal achievement is very small. We see (in Table 17) virtually no difference in the 6th-grade reading test scores between Negroes and whites which is not attributable to differences in preschool development, variation in school environments, and social-class characteristics. While race, along with social-class, has a differentiating effect upon preschool development, it has no continuing additive effect during the elementary school years. We shall find later that it has a large renewed effect when students enter junior high school.

5. SOCIAL-CLASS OR RACIAL SEGREGATION

The lower average achievement levels of students attending predominately Negro schools have been repeatedly documented during the past decade. Advocates of school integration call attention to the inferior resources of Negro schools even within a single school administrative district. The migration of proven teachers to middle-class, hence white, schools; the run-down plants and smaller grounds in the core of the city where Negroes live; inadequate libraries and laboratories; and, above all, sagging morale and custodial perceptions of the educational function, have all been emphasized.

But integrationists and segregationists alike implicitly agree that the proportion of Negroes in a school defines the quality of a school. Whether negative characteristics are seen as a consequence of discrimination or bigotry, or whether the ethos of the school is believed to be affected by the predominance of presumably ill-motivated and academically retarded youths, color stigmatizes the institution as well as the individual.

In Richmond, too, the contrasts are sharp. The average percentile score in verbal reasoning attained by 8th-grade students who have attended predominately Negro elementary schools is 27 as contrasted with the percentile score of 59 attained by students from almost all-white schools. This disparity in achievement is true for the Negro students who attend schools of contrasting racial composition as well as for white students. Table 18 shows that the achievement level of Negroes attending predominately white elementary schools is closer to their white compeers at these schools than to that of Negroes who attend predominately Negro schools.

TABLE 18.—*Mean 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores by race and intermediate school racial composition*

Race of student	Intermediate school racial composition		
	White [1]	Integrated [2]	Negro [3]
White	59 (1, 070)	50 (98)	39 (36)
Negro	45 (36)	36 (92)	26 (777)
Total	59 (1, 106)	47 (190)	27 (813)

[1] 0-9-percent Negro students in school.
[2] 10-49-percent Negro students in school.
[3] 50-100-percent Negro students in school.

The racial composition of a school, however, is confounded with its social-class composition and the various characteristics which link social class to educational attainment. A predominately Negro school is generally a predominately lower-class school. If we classify the elementary schools on the basis of the proportion of lower-class students in the school, instead of the proportion of Negroes, we find that the contrasts in achievement are even stronger. Table 19 shows that the achievement level of both whites and Negroes coming from elementary schools which house few lower-class students average at the 65th percentile—considerably higher than the average for the all-white schools shown in the prior table.

Since the racial and social-class compositions of schools are so closely correlated ($r=.77$), these two tables reflect in large part the contrasts between the same elementary schools. The independent effects of these two variables, and the social-class background of the student are examined in detail, in Table 20, for white students.

Table 19.—*Mean 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores by race and intermediate school social-class composition*

Race of student	Intermediate school social-class composition		
	High[1]	Medium[2]	Low[3]
White	65 (640)	50 (525)	44 (39)
Negro	66 (17)	29 (502)	24 (386)
Total	65 (657)	45 (1, 027)	29 (425)

[1] 0–19 percent lower-class students in school.
[2] 20–49 percent lower-class students in school.
[3] 50–100 percent lower-class students in school.

There are, of course, very few white students in our sample who attended elementary schools with student bodies over 50 percent Negro; and very few who attended predominantly lower-class schools. Many of the possible combinations, therefore, are not represented by enough cases to warrant calculation of an average test score.

Table 20.—*Mean 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores by family status, intermediate school racial composition, and intermediate school social-class composition among white students*

Family status of student social-class composition	Intermediate school racial composition		
	White	Integrated	Negro
Professional and managerial:			
High	75 (197)	-------- (2)	-------- (0)
Middle	64 (49)	-------- (2)	-------- (1)
Low	-------- (2)	-------- (0)	-------- (0)
White collar:			
High	63 (183)	-------- (4)	-------- (0)
Middle	56 (110)	57 (27)	-------- (3)
Low	-------- (3)	-------- (2)	-------- (4)
Semiskilled and skilled manual:			
High	61 (184)	-------- (6)	-------- (0)
Middle	50 (156)	49 (22)	-------- (3)
Low	-------- (3)	-------- (2)	-------- (5)
Lower:			
High	50 (62)	-------- (2)	-------- (0)
Middle	41 (117)	43 (27)	-------- (8)
Low	-------- (4)	-------- (2)	43 (12)

The contrasts which are available, however, are unmistakably clear and consistent. The achievement of white students who attended predominately white elementary schools has been strongly affected by the social-class composition of the school. But the degree of racial integration of a school has no effect upon the achievement of white students who attended modally middle-class schools. This finding is consistent with Coleman's report that ". . . the apparent beneficial effect of a student body with a high proportion of white students comes not from racial composition *per se*, but from the better educational background and higher educational aspirations that are, on the average, found among white students."[19]

When we further allow for the effects of individual variations in initial primary school mental maturity, and for the effects of variation in home environment, on the student's academic performance in the covariance analysis presented in Table 21, we see that while

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[19] James S. Coleman, *et al*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 307.

TABLE 21.—*Sources of variation of 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores among white students*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower class intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	0. 10
0–19 percent	640	65	+2. 8	+. 05
20–49 percent	525	50	−3. 1	−. 05
50–100 percent	39	44	−2. 4	−. 02
Negro intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	[1]. 02
0–9 percent	1, 070	59	+. 1	+. 00
10–49 percent	98	50	−. 2	−. 00
50-100 percent	36	39	−3. 8	−. 02
1st-grade mental maturity	--------	--------	--------	+. 32
Lack of supervision by mother	--------	--------	--------	−. 04
Number of objects in home	--------	--------	--------	+. 16
Number of siblings	--------	--------	--------	−. 05
Family status	--------	--------	--------	. 15
Professional and managerial	253	72	+5. 6	+. 08
White collar	336	60	+1. 7	+. 03
Semiskilled and skilled manual	381	55	−. 6	−. 01
Lower class	234	44	−7. 6	−. 10
Total (R=0.51)	1, 204	58	--------	--------

[1] Not statistically significant.

the social-class context of the elementary school has had a pronounced effect, the effect of school racial composition is nonsignificant for white students.

If the percentage of Negroes and percentage of lower-class students in the school environment are treated as continuous variables rather than as definitions of discrete categories, the analysis remains substantially the same. School racial composition shows an insignificant relationship to achievement for white students while school social-class composition has a substantial effect.[20]

We confront a different problem in trying to assess the independent effects of school racial and social-class composition on achievement among Negroes. There are hardly any Negroes in our sample in predominately white schools or predominately upper status schools. Examining the contrasts which are available in Table 23 we find, again, that the social-class composition of the school has a systematic effect on the achievement of Negro students. Negro students from predominately Negro elementary schools which have fewer than 50 percent lower class students do somewhat better than those from schools with more lower class students.

Here, however, as contrasted with the case of the white students whose achievement was not related to the racial composition of their school, we find that Negro students from integrated schools are doing better than their compeers from segregated Negro schools. When we take account of individual variation in primary school cognitive development and home influences, however, we find that this relationship is largely

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[20] The reduction in the regression of achievement on school social-class context from 0.10 in the categorical analysis to 0.07 in the continuous analysis is due to the nonlinearity of the relationship.

TABLE 22.—*Sources of variation of 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores among white students*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	−0.07
Negro intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	[1] −.03
First-grade mental maturity	--------	--------	--------	+.32
Lack of supervision by mother	--------	--------	--------	−.04
Number of objects in home	--------	--------	--------	+.16
Number of siblings	--------	--------	--------	−.05
Family status	--------	--------	--------	.15
Professional and managerial	253	72	+5.8	+.08
White collar	336	60	+1.7	+.03
Semiskilled and skilled manual	381	55	−.6	−.01
Lower class	234	44	−7.7	−.10
Total (R=0.51)	1, 204	58	--------	--------

[1] Not statistically significant.

TABLE 23.—*Mean 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores by family status, intermediate school racial composition, and intermediate school social-class composition among Negro students*

Family status of student social-class composition	Intermediate school racial composition		
	White	Integrated	Negro
Professional and managerial:			
High	(2)	(0)	(0)
Middle	(0)	(7)	30 (17)
Low	(0)	(0)	28 (13)
White collar:			
High	(4)	(5)	(0)
Middle	(7)	37 (15)	27 (89)
Low	(0)	(1)	22 (58)
Semiskilled and skilled manual:			
High	(4)	(0)	(0)
Middle	(9)	38 (16)	29 (85)
Low	(0)	(3)	28 (71)
Lower:			
High	(2)	(0)	(0)
Middle	(8)	34 (41)	27 (208)
Low	(0)	(4)	23 (236)

spurious. The analysis of covariance presented in Table 24 shows the racial composition of the school as not having a significant direct relationship to the achievement of Negro students either. The Negro students who attended integrated schools had higher mental maturity test scores in their primary grades, and came from homes better provided with educative materials.

TABLE 24.—*Sources of variation of 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores among Negro students*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower class intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	[1] 0.20
0–19 percent	17	66	+27.1	+.18
20–49 percent	502	29	+1.0	+.02
50–100 percent	368	24	−3.0	−.06
Negro intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	[1] .04
0–9 percent	36	45	+3.3	+.03
10–49 percent	92	36	+2.1	+.02
50–100 percent	777	26	−.4	−.01
1st-grade mental maturity	--------	--------	--------	+.31
Lack of supervision by mother	--------	--------	--------	[1] −.04
Number of objects in home	--------	--------	--------	+.07
Number of siblings	--------	--------	--------	−.09
Family status	--------	--------	--------	[1] .06
Professional and managerial	39	33	+.3	+.00
White collar	179	29	−1.9	−.03
Semiskilled and skilled manual	188	31	+2.5	+.04
Lower class	499	26	−.3	−.01
Total (R=0.45)	905	28	--------	--------

[1] Not statistically significant.

Treating the two contextual variables as continuous variables in Table 25 again confirms the conclusion that racial composition of the school, while tending to favor Negro students in racially integrated schools, does not have a substantial effect—not nearly so strong as the social-class composition of the school.

TABLE 25.—*Sources of variation of 8th grade DAT Verbal Reasoning Test percentile scores among Negro students*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	−0.15
Negro intermediate school	--------	--------	--------	[1] −.05
1st-grade mental maturity	--------	--------	--------	+.31
Lack of supervision by mother	--------	--------	--------	[1] −.04
Number of objects in home	--------	--------	--------	+.07
Number of siblings	--------	--------	--------	−.09
Family status	--------	--------	--------	[1] .05
Professional and managerial	39	33	+1.6	+.01
White collar	179	29	−1.5	−.02
Semiskilled and skilled manual	188	31	+2.1	+.04
Lower class	499	26	−.4	−.01
Total (R=0.44)	905	28	--------	--------

[1] Not statistically significant.

While the racial composition of a school often has a negligible effect, often, on the achievement of both Negro and white students, the social-class composition has a much more pronounced effect on the achievement of Negroes than on whites. (Compare the regression of achievement on school social-class composition which is 0.20 for Negroes in Table 24 and 0.10 for whites in Table 21.) The occupational status of the family and cultural richness of the home, on the other hand, are much stronger predictors of achievement among white students.

Although we have found that family structure—the presence or absence of a father—was not *per se* a factor in the achievement of lower class Negro or white students, the family has much more influence on the achievement of white students than Negro students; the latter are more sensitive to variation in the school milieu.[21]

An analysis of the effects of class and caste school segregation on earlier achievement yields confirmation of the conclusion drawn above. The Stanford Reading Achievement Test scores, discussed in the preceding section, were shown to be partly dependent upon the composition of the student's primary school. Contrasting the effects of social-class and racial school composition in Table 26 we find that at this level also reading development is independent of the schools' racial composition.

TABLE 26.—*Sources of variation of 6th grade Stanford Reading Achievement Test scores*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample Number	Estimated Mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class primary school	-------	-------	-------	−0. 12
Negro primary school	-------	-------	-------	[1] +0
1st-grade mental maturity	-------	-------	-------	+. 15
Lack of supervision by mother	-------	-------	-------	−. 04
Number of objects in home	-------	-------	-------	+. 07
Family status	-------	-------	-------	. 08
Professional and managerial	283	7. 4	+0. 3	+. 03
White collar	505	6. 8	+. 3	+. 04
Semiskilled and skilled manual	559	6. 2	−. 2	−. 02
Lower class	736	5. 4	−. 3	−. 04
Race	-------	-------	-------	[1] . 01
Negro	905	5. 0	−. 1	−. 01
White	1, 178	6. 7	+0	+0
Total (R=0.31)	2, 083	6. 3	-------	-------

[1] Not statistically significant.

6. LATER EFFECTS OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION

The reader may have noted that in discussing effects of school segregation upon intermediate grade achievement the proportion of lower-class schoolmates during the primary school years was used as the predictor variable; and, in section 5, when contrasting effects of racial and social-class segregation on eighth grade achievement, the composition of the school during the preceding intermediate grade levels was used as the independent variable.

The reasons for looking at the prior rather than concurrent school context are twofold. In the first place, this eliminates any ambiguity about chronological order and hence the possible direction of causation. A skeptic might argue, for example, that parents of children who do well in school are more likely to move into neighborhoods within the boundaries of elite schools. One cannot argue the converse that future academic achievement is the cause of earlier choice of residence.

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[21] Cf. Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 302, 304.

The more important reason for emphasizing the effect of segregation on subsequent rather than concurrent achievement, however, is that segregation has more substantial long-run than short-run effects. The discrepancy in achievement between students attending similar junior high schools who had attended elementary schools of contrasting social-class composition is much larger than the discrepancy in achievement between students from similar elementary schools who go to contrasting junior high schools.

TABLE 27.—*Sources of variation of 8th grade Differential Aptitude Test scores in verbal reasoning*

Source of Variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated Mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class junior high school				−.04
Lower-class intermediate school				−.08
Lower-class primary school				[1] −.04
1st-grade mental maturity				+.30
Lack of supervision by mother				−.04
Number of objects in home				+.13
Number of siblings				−.05
Family status				.13
Professional and managerial	280	71	+6.6	+.08
White collar	499	55	+1.2	+.02
Semiskilled and skilled manual	555	52	−0.3	−.00
Lower class	716	37	−5.2	−.08
Race				.10
Negro	880	28	−6.3	−.08
White	1,170	58	+1.5	+.02
Total (R=.60)	2,050	52		

[1] Not statistically significant.

Table 27 shows that elementary school segregation has twice the effect of junior-high segregation upon eighth-grade achievement when allowing for effects of familial background and primary school development. The same result is found in the analysis of covariance shown in Table 28 where school composition at the three levels is treated categorically rather than continuously. The average difference in achievement between students attending the intermediate grades in schools having more than 50 percent of the student body who are lower-class is more than 8 percentile points lower than students in predominantly middle-class schools, after allowing for differences in starting point in the primary grades, family influences, and effects of the junior-high context. The average effect of junior-high context, on the other hand, upon students from similar elementary schools, is less than 4 percentile points.

Turning, finally, to attainments in senior high school, we see in Table 29 that for white students the social-class characteristics of the junior and senior high school attended have no independent effect upon Henmon-Nelson IQ test scores, while, again, the social-class composition of the elementary school makes a substantial difference. Among Negroes, in Table 30, we find that the social-class characteristics of the schools attended have no appreciable effect upon IQ test scores at the senior high level.

TABLE 28.—*Sources of variation of 8th grade Differential Aptitude Test scores in verbal reasoning*

Source of Variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated Mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class junior high school				0.06
20–49 percent	1, 430	44	−1. 6	−. 03
00–19 percent	619	64	+2. 3	+. 04
Lower-class intermediate school				.11
50–100 percent	413	29	−4. 4	−. 04
20–49 percent	1, 004	45	−2. 6	−. 04
00–19 percent	632	65	+3. 9	+. 06
Lower-class primary school				[1].03
50–100 percent	392	25	−1. 4	−. 01
20–49 percent	1, 043	47	+0. 8	+. 01
00–19 percent	614	64	−0. 6	−. 01
1st-grade mental maturity				+. 30
Lack of supervision by mother				−. 04
Number of objects in home				+. 13
Number of siblings				+. 05
Family status				. 13
Professional and managerial	280	71	+6. 5	+. 08
White collar	499	55	+1. 1	+. 02
Semiskilled and skilled manual	555	52	−0. 2	−. 00
Lower class	715	37	−5. 4	−. 08
Race				. 12
Negro	879	28	−7. 6	−. 10
White	1, 170	58	+1. 8	+. 02
Total (R=.60)	2, 049	52		

[1] Not statistically significant.

A possible explanation for this anomalous finding among Negro high school students lies in the fact that we are here dealing with the senior high population, excluding those who have dropped out between the eighth and eleventh grades. If, during this period, Negro students whose achievement is poor, and who have attended lower-class schools, drop out or transfer out in greater numbers than their compeers who have attended middle-class schools, the survivors in the lower-class schools would disproportionately represent the high achievers. This trend would tend to diminish (or reverse) the differences in achievement between the Negro students in lower-class and middle-class schools.

While differential dropout rates have not been analyzed in detail, other data in this survey are consistent with this interpretation. Senior high students have higher status, and higher self-appraisal of their abilities, and more of them are white.

TABLE 29.—*Sources of variation of 11th grade Henmon-Nelson IQ Test scores among white students*

Source of Variation	Marginal Relations		Partial Regression Coefficients	
	Sample Number	Estimated Mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class senior high school				[1].00
20–69 percent	309	102.7	+0.0	+.00
00–19 percent	224	107.2	−0.0	−.00
Lower-class junior high school				[1].01
20–69 percent	235	101.6	−0.1	−.00
00–19 percent	298	107.0	+0.1	+.00
Lower-class intermediate school				.11
50–100 percent	18	97.4	−2.7	−.03
20–49 percent	250	101.6	−1.4	−.05
00–19 percent	265	108.1	+1.5	+.05
Primary grade mental maturity				+.24
Lack of supervision by mother				−.05
Number of objects in home				+.10
Number of siblings				−.06
Family status				.22
Professional and managerial	104	113.3	+5.7	+.16
White collar	153	104.0	−0.5	−.02
Semiskilled and skilled manual	174	104.0	−0.8	−.02
Lower class	102	98.8	−4.0	−.11
Total (R=0.46)	533	104.6		

[1] Not statistically significant.

This digression should not obscure the general thesis that segregation in the elementary school has a major effect upon subsequent school achievement; segregation at later grade levels augments this effect only slightly, if at all. This result was very clear, in Tables 27 and 28, contrasting effects of elementary and junior high school segregation in eighth-grade verbal reasoning test scores. Among white students elementary school segregation showed long-run effects upon academic performance in senior high school. This long-run effect is not evident among Negro students—perhaps because of the differential "holding power" of "middle-class" and "lower-class" high schools for Negro poor achievers.

In any event, these data suggest that efforts to balance school composition should have the most perceptible impact upon subsequent student performance if it is done at the elementary school level. This is due not only to the cumulative deficit in acquisition of skills but also to the transitional effect of moving from segregated lower-class elementary schools into relatively more integrated junior high schools. Contrasting the second and third rows of Table 32, we see that children of manual workers, for example, moving from relatively high status elementary schools into low status junior high schools perform considerably better than their compeers moving from low status elementary schools into high status junior high schools.[22]

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[22] Among Negroes there are too few students attending high status schools at any level to warrant an inference about transitional effects. The pattern of the few cases represented, however, is consistent with that of white students.

Table 30.—*Dources of variation of 11th grade Henmon-Nelson IQ test scores among Negro students*

Source of Variation	Marginal Relations		Partial Regression Coefficients	
	Sample Number	Estimated Mean	Raw	Normalized
Lower-class senior high school				[1].02
20–69 percent	285	92.1	+0.1	+.00
00–19 percent	30	90.9	−0.8	−.02
Lower-class junior high school				[1]−.01
20–69 percent	310	92.0	−0.2	−.00
00–19 percent	5			
Lower-class intermediate school				[1].08
50–100 percent	134	92.4	+1.2	+.04
20–49 percent	179	91.6	−0.9	−.03
00–19 percent	2			
Primary-grade mental maturity				+.22
Lack of supervision by mother				[1]+.07
Number of objects in home				+.13
Number of siblings				[1]+.00
Family status				[1].12
Professional and managerial	10	100.0	+5.9	+.07
White collar	73	92.4	−0.3	−.01
Semiskilled and skilled manual	55	94.4	+2.2	+.06
Lower class	177	90.5	−1.0	−.04
Total (R=0.31)	315	92.0		

[1] Not statistically significant.

Table 31.—*Distributions of several variables among junior and senior high school students*

Variables	Junior High	Senior High
	Percent	*Percent*
Report ability to get A or B grades	56	65
Negro	23	17
Low family status	35	30
Number of sample cases	2,234	1,843

Table 32.—*Mean 8th-grade Differential Aptitude Test verbal reasoning test percentile scores among white children of manual workers attending elementary and junior high schools of contrasting social-class composition*

Social class composition of school		Mean
Elementary	Junior High	
High (00–19)	High (00–19)	63 (88)
High (00–19)	Low (20–49)	60 (47)
Low (20–49)	High (00–19)	55 (33)
Low (20–49)	Low (20–49)	48 (103)

7. SELF-CONCEPT

Up to this point we have been concerned with the analysis of measured academic achievement, examining variations between persons occupying different positions in the social structure. We now wish to turn briefly to some of the attitudinal concomitants of the achievement of students.

A frequently postulated cause of the low achievement levels of Negro youths is their pessimistic view of their own ability to do better.[23] This discouraging view is presumably an internalization of a social definition of their own worth. Within the school context the evaluations and expectations of teachers would seem to be the most salient source of information for a child to gauge his ability.

John Niemeyer has argued that "The chief cause of the low achievement of the children from alienated groups is the fact that too many teachers and principals honestly believe that these children are educable only to an extremely limited extent."[24]

In our secondary school sample of students we found that while 70 percent of the white students thought they were capable of getting A or B grades in school, only 44 percent of the Negro students had similar high evaluations of their ability.

However, it is an open question whether this large difference in self-assessment of ability to achieve is cause or consequence of school performance. It is certainly plausible to argue—and considerable experimental research supports the contention—that feedback evaluations of prior performance, even when erroneous, affect expectations for future success. A more appropriate model than unidirectional causation in either direction between performance and self-concept is a recursive model of repeated feed back.

Since, in this study, our measure of self-assessment was gathered on a questionnaire administered after the performance test, we will view this expression of ability as a consequence of prior achievement—rather than as a cause of subsequent performance.

An analysis of the variation in percentage of students reporting that they are capable of getting A's or B's shows that measured eighth-grade verbal ability accounts for almost all of the variation between groups. This covariance analysis is shown in Table 33.

In fact, although the difference is not large, allowing for differences in measured achievement and other related variables, Negroes report slightly higher perception of their academic ability than whites. This slight discrepancy could result from the tendency of some Negro students to discount the evaulations of their performance as discriminatory. Two-fifths of the Negroes and one-fifth of the remaining students thought that teachers preferred white students.

The sense of incompetence—reflected in the belief that they are incapable of getting better grades—has other significant attitudinal manifestations. A natural corollary is the belief that one cannot do anything about destiny, one cannot control the environment. The proportion of Negroes who subscribe to the view that "planning is useless since one's plans hardly ever work out," for example, is twice as high as the proportion of whites expressing that view.

Even allowing for differences in school achievement a significantly larger proportion of Negroes feel they cannot control their fate. The opposite was the case, recall, with subjective competence.

Allowing for differences in achievement, more Negroes feel they are competent but fewer feel they can control their future. The preception of a hostile prejudicial environment accounts for both disparities—on the one hand discounting the feedback of negative evaluations of competence, but, on the other hand, raising external obstacles to realizing goals.

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[23] See, e.g., Jean D. Grambs, "The Self-Concept: Basis for Reeducation of Negro Youth," *Negro Self-Concept* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965).

[24] John Niemeyer, "Some Guidelines to Desirable Elementary School Reorganization," *Programs for the Culturally Disadvantaged* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 81.

TABLE 33.—*Sources of variation of the percentages of students who say they are capable of obtaining A or B grades*

Source of Variation	Marginal Relations		Partial Regression Coefficients	
	Sample Number	Estimated Percentage	Raw	Normalized
8th-grade verbal ability				+.49
Lower-class junior high school				[1]−.01
Lower-class intermediate school				[1]−.01
1st-grade mental maturity				[1]+.01
Lack of supervision by mother				−.08
Number of objects in home				+.08
Number of siblings				−.03
Family status				[1].03
Professional and managerial	287	82	+0.6	+.00
White collar	506	70	+1.9	+.02
Semiskilled and skilled manual	550	63	−1.3	−.01
Lower-class	714	50	−0.8	−.01
Sex				.03
Male	1,274	63	−1.5	−.02
Female	783	66	+1.3	+.01
Race				.04
Negro	874	44	+4.0	+.03
White	1,183	70	−0.9	−.01
Total (R=.55)	2,057	65		

[1] Not statistically significant.

8. ASPIRATIONS

More than half of the secondary school students in Richmond say they want to go to a four-year college. While wishes may outstrip ultimate realization, at this point there is virtually no difference between expressed aspirations and expectations. In every subgroup of the population—among boys and girls, Negroes and whites, students from varying social strata—almost all those who say they want to go to college also say they expect to.

Within each of these groups, though, we would expect to find both aspirations and expectations for college attendance modified by the students' knowledge of their prior performance. Students whose academic performance has been poor in the secondary schools will tend to redefine their expectations and modify their aspirations to be congruent with past performance.

As we would expect, we find large differences in academic achievement between students who aspire to go to college and those who do not. More boys want to go to college than girls,[25] and more whites than Negroes.

Yet, when we allow for differences in measured achievement, we find that far more Negro students than whites, of similar achievement levels, want to go to college. In Table 35 we see that while 51 percent of the Negro students and 61 percent of the white students aspire to college, allowing for differences in achievement and school and home environments, 25 percent more Negroes than whites have college desires.

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[25] Among Negro students, however, more girls than boys hope to go to college. See Table 37.

Table 34.—*Sources of variation of the percentages of students who agree that "planning is useless since one's plans hardly ever work out"*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated percentage	Raw	Normalized
8th-grade verbal achievement				−0.11
Lower-class junior high school				.05
0–19 percent lower class	727	10	−1.6	−.02
20–69 percent lower class	1,154	22	+1.8	+.02
1st-grade mental maturity				−.08
Lack of supervision by mother				[1]+.01
Number of objects in home				−.07
Number of siblings				−.03
Family status				[1].02
Professional and managerial	292	8	−1.1	−.01
White collar	462	14	+0	+.00
Semiskilled and skilled manual	499	16	+.7	+.01
Lower	628	22	+0	+.00
Sex				.07
Male	1,153	18	+2.6	+.04
Female	728	14	−2.3	−.03
Race				.07
Negro	778	28	+5.4	+.06
White	1,103	13	−2.3	−.01
Total (R=0.27)	1,881	16		

[1] Not statistically significant.

The fact that the largest disparity between aspiration and achievement is to be found among depressed groups has been noted before.[26] Yet, we continue to find action programs formulated on the assumption that the stimulation of aspiration will ameliorate the problem of poor achievement. If Negro students, however, can maintain or develop high aspirations for advanced educational attainment without developing present academic competence, such programs may serve only to widen the gap between hopes and performances and intensify the ultimate personal damage.

The relatively high proportion of Negro students who are low achievers yet aspire to go to college is more clearly brought out in Tables 36 and 37. Thirty percent of the white students whose measured verbal ability is below the 30 percentile say they would like to go to college; 43 percent of the Negro students in this lowest achievement bracket have college aspirations.

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[26] For example, A. S. Beckham, "A Study of the Intelligence of Colored Adolescents of Different Social-Economic Status in Typical Metropolitan Areas," *Journal of Social Psychology*, IV (1933), 70–91; G. F. Boyd, "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro Children in a Nonsegregated Elementary School," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXXVI (1952), 191–96; A. B. Wilson, "Social Stratification and Academic Achievement," in A. H. Passow, ed., *Education in Depressed Areas* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1963), 217–35; P. S. Sears, "Levels of Aspiration in Academically Successful and Unsuccessful Children," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXV (1940), 498–536.

TABLE 35.—*Sources of variation of educational aspirations for college*

Source of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated percentage	Raw	Normalized
8th-grade verbal ability	-------	-------	-------	+0.39
Lower-class junior high school	-------	-------	-------	−.09
Lower-class intermediate school	-------	-------	-------	[1] −.03
1st-grade mental maturity	-------	-------	-------	[1] −.01
Lack of supervision by mother	-------	-------	-------	−.06
Number of objects in home	-------	-------	-------	+.11
Number of siblings	-------	-------	-------	−.05
Family status	-------	-------	-------	.07
Professional and managerial	285	76	+1.7	+.01
White collar	489	66	+4.0	+.04
Semiskilled and skilled manual	546	53	−4.4	−.04
Lower	693	47	−0.3	−.00
Sex	-------	-------	-------	.10
Male	1,232	65	+5.4	+.06
Female	781	54	−4.9	−.05
Race	-------	-------	-------	.20
Negro	847	51	+20.6	+.16
White	1,166	61	−4.7	−.04
Total (R=.48)	2,013	-------	-------	-------

[1] Not statistically significant.

Moreover, differences in self-conception of ability do not account for the disproportionate number of poor-achieving Negroes who report college aspirations. Forty-one percent of the Negroes who do not think they are able to get better than C, D, or F grades nevertheless say they want to go to college. In general, as we can see from the regression coefficients in tables 36 and 37, academic performance and confidence in ability to get good grades are more relevant to the aspirations of white students than Negroes.

It is particularly among the poor-achieving lower-class students in predominantly lower-class schools that the reversal in educational aspirations is pronounced. Among this group of students whose likelihood of academic success is minimal, the proportion of Negroes wanting a college education is more than double that of white students.

This apparent paradox could be accounted for by differences between lower-class Negroes and whites in their perception of the structure of opportunities. Working- and lower-class white male students both desire and feel they can obtain manual occupations. Negro students tend to reject manual occupations and have experienced—either personally or vicariously—rejection in the job market. Opportunities for continued education, while not instrumentally valuable, are more available to Negroes and have intrinsic prestige value.[27] In Table 40, we see analogous reversal. While a slightly higher proportion of Negroes than whites say they would like manual occupations, when allowing for differences in achievement, the relationship is reversed. Negro students whose achievement is poor eschew manual labor.

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[27] See Norval D. Glenn, "Negro Prestige Criteria: A Case Study in the Bases of Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVIII (May 1963), 645–57.

TABLE 36.—*Sources of variations of college aspirations among white students*

Sources of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated percentage	Raw	Normalized
Self-concept of ability				0.23
A or B	1,088	73	+7.2	+.07
C, D, or F	479	31	−17.4	−.16
8th-grade verbal achievement				.22
0–29 percent	302	30	−17.3	−.14
30–69 percent	586	53	−3.7	−.04
70–99 percent	679	81	+11.1	+.11
Lower-class junior high school				.08
0–19 percent	830	70	+3.7	+.04
20–69 percent	737	50	−4.2	−.04
Lack of supervision of mother				−.09
Objects in home				+.13
Number of siblings				−.04
Family status				.07
Professional and managerial	339	77	+3.9	+.03
White collar	449	66	+3.0	+.03
Semiskilled and skilled manual	480	52	−4.8	−.04
Lower	299	46	−1.3	−.01
Sex				.14
Male	1,080	68	+7.3	+.07
Female	487	54	−6.8	−.07
Total (R=0.53)	1,567	60		

TABLE 37.—*Sources of variation of college aspirations among Negro students*

Sources of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated percentage	Raw	Normalized
Self-concept of ability				0.15
A or B	445	65	+8.9	+.09
C, D, or F	613	41	−6.7	−.07
8th-grade verbal achievement				.13
0–29 percent	647	43	−5.1	−.05
30–69 percent	327	61	+5.3	+.05
70–99 percent	84	78	+15.9	+.09
Lower-class junior high school				[1] .03
0–19 percent	45	77	+7.8	+.03
20–69 percent	1,013	50	−.3	−.00
Lack of supervision by mother				[1] −.05
Objects in home				+.11
Number of siblings				[1] −.05
Family-status				[1] .07
Professional and managerial	54	76	+13.7	+.06
White collar	206	54	+.6	+.00
Semiskilled and skilled manual	227	51	−1.6	−.01
Lower-class	571	48	−.9	−.01
Sex				[1] .01
Male	526	49	−.7	−.01
Female	532	53	+.6	+.00
Total (R=0.33)	1,058	51		

[1] Not statistically significant.

TABLE 38.—*Percentages of lower-class students achieving below the 30th percentile in lower-class junior high schools aspiring to go to college, by race, sex, and self-concept of ability*

Self-concept of ability	Male		Female	
	Negro	White	Negro	White
A or B	49 (56)	18 (12)	59 (54)	26 (10)
C, D, or F	35 (123)	17 (25)	40 (31)	19 (20)

TABLE 39.—*Sources of variation of the percentages of lower-class students, attending predominantly lower-class junior high schools, who aspire to go to college*

Sources of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated percentage	Raw	Normalized
8th-grade verbal achievement			+0.6	+0.32
1st-grade mental maturity			−.6	−.13
Lack of supervision by mother			−6.3	−.07
Number of objects in home			+6.2	+.19
Number of siblings			−1.2	−.06
Sex				.10
Male	332	52	+5.9	+.06
Female	299	40	−4.0	−.04
Race				.21
Negro	468	48	+10.9	+.11
White	153	41	−9.9	−.10
Total (R=0.39)	621	45		

TABLE 40.—*Sources of variation in aspirations to manual occupations*

Sources of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated percentage	Raw	Normalized
8th-grade verbal ability				−0.21
Lower-class junior high school				[1] +.00
Lower-class intermediate school				+.05
1st-grade mental maturity				[1] +.03
Lack of supervision by mother				[1] +.02
Objects in home				[1] +.01
Number of siblings				[1] −.00
Family status				.10
Professional and managerial	258	3	−5.3	−.06
White collar	444	9	−2.2	−.03
Semiskilled and skilled manual	489	14	+2.2	+.03
Lower-class	608	18	+3.6	+.05
Sex				.26
Male	1,132	20	+8.5	+.13
Female	667	4	−8.1	−.12
Race				.06
Negro	775	16	−3.9	−.05
White	1,024	11	+.9	+.01
Total (R=0.37)	1,799	12		

[1] Not statistically significant.

The consequences of poor academic achievement are quite different for Negro and white students. White students perceive manual jobs as a viable alternative in the event of school failure. If the Negro student drops out he has good reason to expect to be unemployed.

This contrast in perceptions was repeatedly reflected in interview materials with students. One Negro student in continuation school who had been expelled from several prior schools for malbehavior and poor grades reflects this perception.

* * * *

Q. Why are most of the students on the basketball team colored?

A. Because, as you can look around and see, most of the kids here in the afternoon are colored. I guess you've seen when you walked up that most of them are colored. I mean, you find a few white ones but they, most of the white boys, go in the morning. Most of them have jobs.

Q. How certain are you that you'll go to college?

A. I'm pretty certain—'cause like junior college, you don't have to finish high school. You can be 18 years old to go there.

Q. You don't have to finish high school?

A. No.

Q. So, you don't think you'll finish it?

A. I mean, if something comes up and I can't finish school, I'm gonna go to college. I don't care what comes up.[28]

9. BEHAVIORAL DEVIANCE[28a]

The fact that Negroes are more likely than whites to be involved in delinquency and crime is well established. In our data 53 percent of the Negro adolescent boys and 26 percent of the white adolescent boys have official police records of offenses during the 2 years prior to the administration of the questionnaire.[29] At the same time, there is no reason to think that the causes of crime among Negroes are different from the causes of crime among whites. If the broken home is conducive to delinquency among white boys, it should be conducive to delinquency among Negro boys; if low socio-economic status fosters crime among whites, it should do the same among Negroes. In other words, an explanation of Negro-white differences in criminal activity should be a by-product of an explanation of criminal activity in general.

At the same time, Negro-white differences in such things as family structure, school performance, socio-economic status, and cultural values should offer important clues toward a general explanation of criminal activity, since these differences are often easily visible. In fact, of course, this route from the Negro-white difference in criminal activity through other Negro-white differences which purportedly explain the initial difference is the one most frequently followed by students of this question. The difficulty is that the Negro-white difference in criminality becomes evidence for the assertion that other Negro-white differences are the cause of the criminality, and the circle is closed with that which was to be explained explaining itself. For example, the Negro home is much more likely than the white home to be broken. Therefore, the broken home may be taken as an explanation of Negro-white differences in delinquency. In the present data, however, the broken home is unrelated to delinquency, and Negro-white differences in delinquency, therefore, cannot be attributed to the differences in the rate of broken homes.[30]

The same cannot be said for educational attainment. As the material presented earlier amply illustrates, Negroes are much less likely than whites to do well in school, and those who do poorly in school are much more likely to have police records, whether white or Negro, as Table 41 shows.

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[28] Interview by Herman Blake with male Negro student in Richmond (Jan. 28, 1964)

[28a] This section is partially based upon, and will be elaborated in Travis Hirschi's "Juvenile Delinquency and Commitment to Conventional Values," doctoral dissertation in process.

[29] Records of all boys in the sample were collected from the local police department and from the county sheriff's office.

[30] The analysis parallels the study of effects of father-absence on academic achievement reported in Sec. 3, above.

TABLE 41.—*Sources of variation of the percentages of male students having no official police records of delinquency*

Sources of variation	Marginal relations		Partial regression coefficients	
	Sample number	Estimated percentage	Raw	Normalized
Perceived importance of grades				0. 08
Very important	732	71	+2. 4	+. 03
Somewhat important	363	71	+0. 3	+. 00
Fairly important	177	61	−7. 6	−. 06
Completely unimportant	40	58	−8. 5	−. 03
8th-grade verbal achievement				+. 17
Lower-class junior high school				. 11
00–19 percent	538	79	+5. 0	+. 05
20–69 percent	774	58	−5. 3	−. 06
1st-grade mental maturity				+. 04
Lack of supervision by mother				−. 07
Number of objects in home				[1] −. 01
Number of siblings				−. 08
Family status				[1] . 03
Professional and managerial	206	81	+1. 1	+. 01
White collar	338	70	−0. 9	−. 01
Semiskilled and skilled manual	360	68	−1. 4	−. 01
Lower class	408	61	+1. 8	+. 02
Race				. 06
Negro	468	47	−5. 9	−. 05
White	844	74	+1. 3	+. 01
Total (R=0.35)	1, 312	69		

[1] Not statistically significant.

How does school attainment affect delinquency? Explanations of this relation or at least the relations following from it have taken two major forms. In the dominant sociological view, the student turns to delinquency as a way of relieving frustrations attendant upon school failure.[31] In a second view, lack of success in school reduces the student's stake in the entire "conventional game"—it therefore gives him greater opportunity to engage in delinquent acts and increases the likelihood that he will do so should the opportunity arise.[32]

In this second view, which we shall follow here, ties to conventional institutions and groups, such as the family, the school, and peers, are seen as the major source of social control. This "social bond" or stake may be characterized by several conceptually distinct if empirically overlapping dimensions: the bond of affection or attachment; the bond of involvement; the bond of commitment—which comes from accepting the groups' goals and investing time and energy in activities which lead toward them. Applied to the school, this kind of analysis helps locate the place of educational attainment in the causation of delinquent behavior, for it is clear that poor school performance weakens all of these bonds to the school.

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[31] Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys; The Culture of the Gang* (New York: The Free Press, 1955).

[32] Jackson Toby and Marcia L. Toby, *Low School Status As a Predisposing Factor in Subcultural Delinquency* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1962, mimeo).

Attachment

As a matter of fact, both of the sociological views mentioned earlier accept, if they do not start from, what must be considered one of the best established findings of delinquency research: "Delinquents don't like school."[33] The first step in understanding the implications of this finding requires converting it from a descriptive to a causal statement: "Children who don't like school are much more likely to be delinquent." This statement is clearly supported by data in this study.

Commitment to the Future

Still another aspect of the bond to the school, and one frequently highly emphasized by sociological theories of delinquency, is the stake in a future which depends upon education, and which success in school therefore strengthens and lack of success in school effectively weakens. While it is probably true that for many students adult occupational success is not as salient a consideration in day-to-day activities as these theories sometimes suggest, yet it is also true that for some students the future is real for the very reason that they have a future, a fact repeatedly brought home to them by their success in the school system. This link to the future strengthens the bond to the present, because those with a future have something to lose by deviant activity. This orientation to the future is reflected in concern for present academic performance. Students who think good grades are important, for example, are likely to be future oriented. They are also less likely to commit delinquent acts.

Involvement in School Activities

Attitudes and beliefs favorable to the commission of delinquent acts are one thing; opportunities to commit these acts are another. As would be expected, those children not constrained by beliefs in the value of school and the legitimacy of its authority are also more likely to have opportunities to commit delinquent acts, because their out-of-school time is less likely to be occupied by school-related activities. The student who does not finish his homework, who spends little time at it, is also more likely to have committed delinquent acts, and this is true regardless of his attitudes toward the school. (Attitudes toward the school are of course importantly related to whether the student completes his homework, however.)

The student who does poorly in school is less likely to like school, less likely to be involved in school activities, less likely to accept the school's authority, and less likely to see school as relevant to his future. For all these reasons, he is more likely to be delinquent.

It is interesting to note in Table 41 that there is a substantial and significant difference in rates of official delinquency between the boys who attended predominantly middle-class junior high schools and those who went to lower-class schools, even when allowing for the effects of this variable upon school achievement. Segregated schools affect deviant behavior not only through their impact upon achievement, and thereby upon students' commitments to the institution and society, but cause an additional differential.

This residual interschool differential seems to be due to geographic variation in police surveillance which is concentrated in the city core and in lower-class areas heavily populated by Negroes. Interschool and Negro-white differences in self-reported delinquent acts are much smaller than police-recorded offense differentials.

Segregation, then, not only has its effect upon individual intellectual and moral development, but also affects the behavior of institutions outside the school to create a "self-fulfilling prophecy." Negroes and lower-class persons have less "stake" in established social institutions, are more apt to engage in deviant activity, hence they are watched more closely, and a higher proportion of committed delinquent acts come to official attention.

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[33] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

10. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Segregation in public schools, consequent in community demographic patterns, has been a topic of local and national concern for many years. Many public and private agencies have operated under the assumption that racial imbalances in schools are undesirable, and have sought to develop procedures for the amelioration of imbalance. Yet, they have not been able to radically affect practice or compellingly substantiate deleterious consequences of segregation in the face of political or ideological opposition.

One of the large gaps in the documentation of the effect of segregation is the lurking suspicion that the well-established differences in performance of children at different schools are due to initial differences in relevant intellectual abilities which children bring with them on entry. If schools do not in any way contribute to or aggravate these differences, if essentially equivalent educational opportunities are provided by schools serving the poor and the well-to-do, then the minimal requisites of "equality of educational opportunity" are met. Even the more generous extension of public responsibility to compensate for remediable environmental deficiencies might as well, or better, be accomplished by programmatic investment in schools where the disadvantaged are concentrated.

A series of empirical studies have been conducted during the past few years to determine whether there are substantial inter-school differences in the intellectual development of students which are not attributable to prior personal characteristics of the individual, his home background and preschool experiences, or extra-school influences stemming from the neighborhood milieu. A common analytical strategem in these studies is to compare the achievement of students in different school contexts who have been exposed to similar nonschool experiences. The largest and most comprehensive of these studies in the national survey conducted in 1966 by the U.S. Office of Education under the legislative mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[34]

While the control of relevant individual differences in social background helps isolate effects of differences between schools, there always remains the possibility that other significant social factors engendering initial variation in intellectual development remain uncontrolled. Moreover, systematic differences between school student bodies in the distribution of genetic endowments must be assumed away.

The central purpose of the present study was to fill this gap by "partialling out" measured differences in initial mental maturity of the students during their primary grades—rather than environmental correlates of intellectual development alone—while examining the effects of differing school contexts upon subsequent achievement. The major substantive conclusions, based upon the foregoing analysis, are listed below:

1. Allowing for individual differences in personal background, neighborhood context, and mental maturity at the time of school entry, variations in elementary school context make a substantial and significant difference in subsequent academic success at higher grade levels.
2. Socioeconomic and racial characteristics of students' agemates in the local neighborhood have no independent effect upon the academic achievement of students attending similar schools.
3. The social-class composition of a school—indicated by the proportion of students whose parents are unskilled laborers, unemployed, or welfare recipients—affects the academic development of both Negro and white students in either racially integrated or racially segregated situations.
4. Given similar social-class compositions, the racial balance of a school has slight bearing on the academic performance of students. (Social-class and racial compositions are, of course, closely correlated.)
5. Social-class segregation of students, through its effect upon the development of academic skills, has ramifying consequences for students' subjective sense of competence and belief that they can plan and control their futures.
6. Failure to succeed in school weakens students' bonds to established institutions and social norms, freeing them to engage in delinquent activity. Segregation, moreover, affects official delinquency rates, not only through its effect upon the competence, morale, and subsequent behavior of students but also through its effect upon the intensity of police surveillance.

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[34] James Coleman, *et. al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S Government Printing Office, 1966).

In broad outline we see that the unequal inheritance with which students enter school, which should become less salient as students progress through school if schools in fact maximized individual potential, is in fact aggravated because of segregation.

Three guidelines to policy are implicit in the results of this study: (1) Considering conclusions 3 and 4, above, together, stratagems to achieve racial balance in schools must simultaneously ameliorate social-class imbalance if they are to equalize the educationally relevant milieux.

(2) From conclusions 2 and 3, while residential integration may be a desirable social goal in its own right, the effectiveness of school integration is not dependent upon concommitant changes in neighborhood patterns.

(3) The large initial differences in social inheritance of children entering school are not perceptibly ameliorated by standard school programs of remedial reading, special classes for the "mentally retarded," which take place in segregated schools, and grouped classes within schools. Investments into compensatory programs should be designed to make cumulative increments to knowledge about the development of competence.

Appendix C 3.1 WEIGHTED ESTIMATION

Estimates of means, percentages, and of regression coefficients which are based upon the secondary school sample are weighted rather than simple averages of the sample values. A hypothetical example will demonstrate the necessity and rationale for weighting and will illustrate the procedure used throughout.

Suppose we had a population consisting of 100 boys and 100 girls. We ask them some question yielding a "yes" or "no" response: e.g., "Do you plan to go to college?" Eighty of the boys but only 40 of the girls say "yes." This result is tabulated in Illustration A.

ILLUSTRATION A.—*Distribution of responses in a hypothetical population*

Sex	Frequencies			Percent "yes"
	Total	Yes	No	
Boys	100	80	20	80
Girls	100	40	60	40
Total	200	120	80	60

Sixty percent of the students in this hypothetical population respond that they plan to go to college.

If we now drew a random probability sample with disproportionate numbers of boys and girls in the sample, say 80 percent of the boys but only 20 percent of the girls, the *expected* proportion of each stratum saying "yes" would remain the same. That is, we would expect 80 percent of the boys in our sample to say "yes" and 40 percent of the girls to say "yes." The table we would expect to get, then, appears as Illustration B.

ILLUSTRATION B.—*Expected distribution of responses in sample*

Sex	Frequencies			Percent "yes"
	Total	Yes	No	
Boys	80	64	16	80
Girls	20	8	12	40
Total	100	72	28	72

While the percent "yes" for boys and girls separately remains the same, 72 percent of the sample as contrasted with 60 percent of the population say "yes." Boys, who aspire to college in greater numbers, are unduly represented in our sample. The simple unweighted average provides an estimate of the total which is heavily biased toward the over-sampled stratum.

To make an unbiased estimate of the original population figures we have to multiply the number of girls in the sample by five and the number of boys by 1.25. This will restore the population frequencies shown in Illustration A. These "weights" are the reciprocals of the sampling fractions—one-fifth for girls and four-fifths for boys.

In the originally drawn sample of 5,545 students, 5 sampling fractions were used: 85 percent of Negro boys, 60 percent of Negro girls, 30 percent of "other" boys, 12 percent of "other" girls, and 100 percent of those population substrata containing fewer than 25 cases. For the reduced final sample of 4,077 cases who completed the questionnaire 2 adjustments were made. First, in each stratum a revised estimate of the number of cases in the population was made by subtracting the same percentage of students who were found in the sample from that stratum to have transferred or dropped out from the number of students listed on the school rosters in the fall. This provided us with an estimate of the population size for the stratum at the time of the survey in the spring. Second, the fraction of this estimated population of students actually completing the questionnaire in each substratum was calculated. This fraction, in which the numerator was adjusted for nonresponse rates and the denominator adjusted for population transfers and dropouts, replaces the originally intended sampling fractions for the purpose of making estimates based upon the final sample. Because of the fluctuation in actual completion rates from stratum to stratum, almost 130 different weights are involved.

One way of describing the gross effect of this weighting procedure is to say that the students completing the questionnaire within a substratum—say, 10th-grade Negro boys at a particular school during the spring—are taken to be representative of all of the students in that substratum. We know that there is some slight nonresponse bias involved in this "representation," but this bias would affect any other weighting procedure. Other weighting procedures would introduce additional biases. If we ignore the differential fractions actually sampled in the different substrata, the type of bias demonstrated in Illustration B would be added to the general nonresponse bias.

In sum, then, the weighting procedure provides optimal estimates of population parameters, correcting for the effects of disproportionate sampling, but not correcting for nonresponse bias.

Appendix C 3.2

COVARIANCE ANALYSIS

When the analysis of the variation of a variable entails assessing the effects of a large number of "independent" variables which have complex causal interrelationships, some parsimonious model is required to utilize the available data efficiently. Where all of the variables are measured by continuous numerical scales, least-squares estimates of the parameters of multiple regression equations are commonly used to assess the independent direct effects of the predictor variables on the dependent variable. The multiple correlation, or squared multiple correlation, is used to estimate the total independent and joint effects of the set of predictor variables.

In the present analysis, as in most social surveys, some of the independent variables consist of nominal classifications—such as male or female, Negro or white. Regression analysis may be readily extended to include nominal categorization by assigning the "dummy" value of one if an individual belongs to a particular category, and zero if he does not.[1] A regression coefficient is estimated for each category of the nominal variable, with the constraint that their weighted sum shall be zero. The procedure is equivalent to the classical nonorthogonal analysis of covariance [2] and has now been applied several times in nonexperimental empirical research.[3]

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[1] See, e.g., Daniel Suits, "Use of Dummy Variables in Regression Equation," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, LII (December 1957), 548–51.

Where the dependent variable is nominal—as in the analysis of educational aspiration in Section 3.2 in which students were classified according to their desire to go to college or not—an analogous extension of the regression model may be made. Again each individual is assigned the variable value of one if he belongs to a given category, and zero if he does not. Least squares estimates of the regression coefficients of this "dummy" variable on the predictor variables estimate the proportion of persons (or conditional probability of a person) falling in a category associated with a unit change in the respective independent variables. If the independent variables in the analysis are numerical, this application of regression is equivalent to the discriminant function.[4]

The regression model, estimated by the method of least squares, may be generally extended, then, to either numerical or nominal variables, in any combination. The general model in this case may be represented by:

$$Y_a=b_0+\sum_{i=1}^{p}\sum_{j=1}^{qi} b_{ij}X_{ija}+\sum_{K=1}^{r} b_k x_{ka}+e_a,$$

subject to the side-restrictions

$$\sum_{j=1}^{i} N_{ij}b_{ij}=0 \qquad (i=1,\ldots,p),$$

where Y represents either a numerical or nominal dependent variable, X represents a nominal independent variable, and x represents a numerical independent variable scaled as a deviation from the mean of the variable.

Two characteristics of regression coefficients should be emphasized when interpreting the estimated effects of variables or classifications such as appear throughout this paper. The appropriateness of an interpretation hinges upon the model of causal interrelationships among the set of variables under consideration.

First, a regression coefficient provides a weighted average direct effect of each variable or classification upon the dependent variable being analyzed after adjusting for the effects of all other independent variables included in the analysis. If, in fact, a variable has very different, or even opposite, effects in different sub-populations, or in different ranges of a covariate—if, that is, two variables interact—the average effect will be of little interest and may be misleading. The specification of the effect in each subpopulation would be of greater interest and would more accurately reflect the data.

For example, we found in Section 3.2 that more boys than girls aspired to go to college—both in the marginal relationship and after allowing for differences in academic achievement, social status, and so forth. The conclusion that being a boy in our culture is more likely to lead to college aspirations would obscure the fact that among Negro students more girls than boys aspire to go to college. Since whites outnumber Negroes in the population, the statement is true, on the average, but a misleading generalization.

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[2] S. S. Wilks, "Analysis of Variance and Covariance in Non-Orthogonal Data," *Metron*, No. 2 (1938), 141–54; K. R. Nair, "A Note on the Method of 'Fitting of Constants' for Analysis of Non-Orthogonal Data Arranged in a Double Classification," *Sarkhya*, V, pt. 3 (1941), 317–28; Oscar Kempthorne, *The Design and Analysis of Experiments* (New York: John Wiley, 1952), 91–6.

[3] T. P. Hill, "An Analysis of the Distribution of Wages and Salaries in Great Britain," *Econometrica*, XXVII (July 1959), 355–81; James N. Morgan, Martin H. David, Wilbur J. Cohen, and Harvey E. Brazer, *Income and Welfare in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962); Harold L. Wilensky, "Mass Society and Mass Culture: Interdependence or Independence," *American Sociological Review*, XXIX (April 1964), 173–97.

[4] R. A. Fisher, "The Use of Multiple Measurements in Taxonomic Problems," *Annals of Eugenics*, VII (September 1936), 179–88; also *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (12th ed., rev.; New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1954), 285–87. Examples of analyses where all variables, independent as well as dependent, are nominal appear in Gordon Fisher, "A Discriminant Analysis of Reporting Errors in Health Interviews," *Applied Statistics*, XI, No. 3 (1962), 148–63, and Alan B. Wilson, "Social Stratification and Academic Achievement," *Education in Depressed Areas*, Ed. A. Harry Passow (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), 217–35.

Second, the interpretation of the partial regression coefficient depends upon the causal order among the variables included in the analysis. In this study this ordering is generally established by the temporal sequence among the variables—with race and sex being considered exogenous, and parental characteristics assumed to be prior to student behaviors. The partial coefficient represents the total effect of a variable upon the dependent variable only when three conditions are met: (1) Variables which are causes of the predictor variable under consideration, and have a direct independent effect upon the dependent variable, are held constant by inclusion in the analysis. Otherwise the apparent relationship may be partially or totally spurious. (2) Variables which intervene between the predictor variable and the dependent variable are excluded from the analysis. Where an intervening variable is included, the partial coefficient estimates the independent direct effect only, omitting its effect through the intervening variable. (3) Variables which are consequences of the dependent variable must be excluded. If actual subsequent college entry, for example, were to be held constant in the analysis of educational aspirations in Section 3.2, we would only be analyzing that part of the variation of aspirations which was irrelevant to matriculation.

The second condition mentioned is particularly crucial to the interpretation of regression coefficients and warrants some explication. In the analysis of the college aspirations of white students in Table 3.2.2, for example, we assume the following causal ordering, from proximate to remote:

	Normalized partial regression coefficient
Dependent variable:	
College aspirations	
Independent variables:	
Self-concept of ability	0.23
Eighth grade verbal achievement	.22
Social-class composition of junior high school	.08
Family characteristics:	
Lack of supervision by mother	.09
Objects in home	.13
Number of siblings	.04
Family status	.07
Exogenous variables, 10; sex, 1; race (white students only), 26	.14

If this is a correct ordering, the first partial coefficient, 0.23, estimates the total effects of self-concept of ability upon college aspirations. The second coefficient, 0.22, estimates the additional direct effect of earlier verbal achievement on aspirations over and above its effect through modifying students' reported appraisal of their own ability. We already know from Section 3.1 that prior academic performance has a very strong influence upon self-concept of ability. Similarly, the estimated direct effect of the social-class composition of the junior high school on achievement, 0.08, is an additional effect, over and above the influence this context has upon achievement and upon self-concept of ability.

In comparing the magnitude of partial regression coefficients, then, it is important to bear in mind that these are direct path coefficients. A small, even an insignificant or zero, partial regression coefficient of a predictor variable does not necessarily indicate that the variable is irrelevant to the causation of the dependent variable if intervening variables have been included in the analysis. Rather that the effect of such a variable is interpreted by the intervening variable. The small partial regression of educational aspirations on the number of siblings of a student (0.04) does not indicate that the number of siblings has slight effect. Most of the effect of family size, however, is through its effect upon parental supervision and the development of academic competence. It has very little additional direct effect upon aspirations.

(Supplementary information on the test scores and data collection is available at the Commission.)

Appendix C 4

OAKLAND, CALIF.

This section contains excerpts from a much broader community study of "Race and Education in the City of Oakland" conducted for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It was prepared by the Dumbarton Research Council of Menlo Park, Calif.

Population

In 1965 approximately 3,300 students graduated from the six high schools in Oakland, Calif. Of these, 1,429 or about 40 percent had attended the public schools in Oakland continuously from the time they entered first grade in 1953. These 1,429 comprised the original population for the study.

Sampling Design

The sample was drawn from the 1,429 Oakland High School graduates of 1965 who had attended school in Oakland from first through twelfth grade. Of this number approximately 400 were eliminated because they were Oriental, had Spanish surnames or were of other racial or ethnic origins which were neither Caucasian nor Negro.

Negro graduates who attended elementary schools for at least 4 years having a student body between 20 and 50 percent Negro from 1950 to 1960 were categorized as "Desegregated Negro." Negro graduates having at least 4 years' elementary education in schools which were at least 70 percent Negro in 1950 and at least 85 percent Negro in 1960 were categorized as "Segregated Negro." White graduates having at least 4 years' elementary education in schools which were 20–50 percent Negro from 1950 to 1960 were categorized as "Desegregated Whites." White graduates having at least 4 years' elementary education in schools which were all white between 1950 and 1960 were categorized as "Segregated Whites."

Using this stratification, the population frequencies were:

Segregated Negro	191
Desegregated Negro	90
Segregated white	600
Desegregated white	146

Each group, with the exception of segregated whites, was sampled in total. Twenty-five percent or 150 of the segregated whites were randomly selected. The following table indicates the response rate for the final sample.

Group	Sampled	Responded	Response rate (percent)
Segregated Negroes	191	124	64.9
Desegregated Negroes	90	65	72.2
Segregated whites	150	126	84.0
Desegregated whites	146	94	64.3
Total	577	409	70.8

Depth interviews were conducted with each person in the final sample. Questions on their educational aspirations, occupational aspirations, racial attitudes, and family background were asked.

Inability to obtain interviews was for reasons such as: (1) graduate in Armed Services, (2) had moved too far away, (3) had moved and left no forwarding address, (4) was ill, etc. There were few refusals to participate in the study.

On the single most important characteristic believed to be related to academic potential and achievement, educational level of the head of the household, the sample of 409 corresponds very well with the original population. The tables presented will use this variable as the family background control.

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to determine how Negro and white children who were educated in the same school system in the city of Oakland, differed in terms of the consequences of their varied educational experiences, i.e., in terms of success in finding employment, continuation of education, and racial attitudes. The primary comparisons are between those Negro and white students having attended racially homogeneous as opposed to racially desegregated schools. Such comparisons—with the appropriate controls—allow gross generalizations about the differential outcomes of education in schools of different racial composition. The tables presented are for only the Negro respondents, and represent a mere fraction of the total number of crosstabulations available.

General Findings:

1. Negro graduates who attended desegregated schools are more willing for their offsprings to have an interracial education than those who attended segregated schools. (See Table 1.)

2. Negro graduates who attended desegregated schools are more willing to live in biracial neighborhoods (irrespective of difficulty encountered) and are more likely to have white friends, than Negroes who attended segregated schools. (See Tables 2 and 3.)

3. Negro graduates who attended desegregated schools are on the average less suspicious of whites (see Table 4), and feel somewhat more at ease in a biracial setting (see Tables 5, 6, and 7), than similar Negroes who attended segregated schools.

TABLE 1.—*Percent of Negro graduates responding "yes" to "would you be willing to send your children out of the neighborhood to go to a desegregated school," by family background and type school attended*

[Number in parentheses in Tables 1-7 represents the number of cases]

Educational level of household head	Type school attended	
	Desegregated	Segregated
Years:		
0 to 8	76.0 (34)	52.0 (56)
9 to 11	75.0 (8)	14.0 (7)
12	77.0 (13)	58.0 (43)
13 or more	78.0 (9)	50.0 (18)
Total	76.3 (64)	51.6 (124)

TABLE 2.—*Percent Negro graduates responding "yes" to "suppose someone came to you and told you that you could rent or buy a nice house, but it was in an all-white neighborhood and you might have some trouble out there. Are you the pioneering type who would move into a difficult situation like that?" by family background and type school attended*

Educational level of household head	Type school attended	
	Desegregated	Segregated
Years:		
0 to 8	53 (34)	42 (55)
9 to 11	75 (8)	29 (7)
12	54 (13)	63 (43)
13 or more	56 (19)	39 (18)
Total	56 (74)	48 (123)

TABLE 3.—*Percent of Negro graduates reporting "yes" to "are there any white people you regard as friends?" by family background and type school attended*

Educational level of household head	Type school attended	
	Desegregated	Segregated
Years:		
0 to 8	89.0 (35)	68.0 (56)
9 to 11	63.0 (8)	57.0 (7)
12	100.0 (13)	67.0 (43)
13 or more	100.0 (9)	72.0 (18)
Total	89.5 (65)	67.6 (124)

TABLE 4.—*Percent of Negro graduates who "disagree" that "if a Negro is wise, he will think twice before he trusts a white man as much as he would another Negro," by family background and type of school attended*

Educational level of household head	Type school attended	
	Desegregated	Segregated
Years:		
0 to 8	54.0 (35)	56.0 (55)
9 to 11	100.0 (8)	51.0 (7)
12	67.0 (12)	51.0 (41)
13 or more	78.0 (9)	67.0 (18)
Total	65.5 (64)	55.6 (121)

TABLE 5.—*Percent Negro graduates responding "frequently" to "when I am around a white person, I am afraid he might say something which will show that he is prejudiced," by family background, and type school attended*

Educational level of household head	Type school attended	
	Desegregated	Segregated
Years:		
0–8	37 (35)	43 (56)
9–11	38 (8)	71 (7)
12	38 (13)	42 (43)
13 or more	44 (9)	33 (18)
Total	38 (65)	43 (124)

Table 6.—*Percent Negro graduates responding "frequently" to "when I am around a a white person, I am afraid I might lose my temper at something he says," by family background and type school attended*

Educational level of household head	Type school attended	
	Desegregated	Segregated
Years:		
0–8	15 (34)	20 (55)
9–11	0 (8)	0 (9)
12	0 (13)	16 (43)
13 or more	0 (9)	44 (18)
Total	8 (64)	21 (125)

Table 7.—*Percent Negro graduates reporting "frequently" to "when I am around a white person, I know he is afraid he'll say something he shouldn't and it bothers me," by family background and type school attended*

Educational level of household head	Type school attended	
	Desegregated	Segregated
Years:		
0–8	12 (34)	14 (56)
9–11	0 (8)	29 (7)
12	15 (13)	19 (43)
13 or more	0 (9)	17 (18)
Total	9 (64)	17 (124)

Appendix C 5

ADULT CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL ISOLATION AND DESEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS

The data reported herein arise from two national studies on the effects of *defacto* school segregation upon Negro and white adults in northern cites. The survey was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, during the summer of 1966. The analyses reported here were performed at Harvard University under the supervision of Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew.

A. NEGRO ADULT SURVEY

Sample and Procedures

The data are based on 1,624 interviews with a representative sample of Negro men and women aged 17 to 54, living in the metropolitan areas of the North. The final sample contained interviews obtained from 25 different metropolitan areas.

All Negro respondents were interviewed for approximately two hours by Negro interviewers, and were asked questions pertinent to their educational histories, family backgrounds, occupational histories, race relations, and attitudes about themselves as well as others.

The primary comparison made in this study was between Negro adults who attended racially desegregated schools and Negro adults who attended racially segregated schools. To insure that a substantial number of Negro adults having received a racially desegregated education were included in the final sample, oversampling was done in the following two ways. First, middle income residential areas in small cities were oversampled,[1] and, second, the spouses of respondents who reported having attended integrated schools were interviewed.[2]

Desegregated and segregated educational experiences were determined by the elementary schooling of the respondents. In order to be counted as having attended a desegregated elementary school, the respondent must have said that he attended elementary school with whites for five years, that his school was at least more than half white, and that whites did not move out of the school while he was attending it. All other respondents are considered to have gone to a segregated school.[3]

Preliminary data analysis showed several important background differences between "desegregated" and "segregated" Negroes. First, most of the respondents who attended segregated schools were born in the South (81.7 percent) and most who attended desegregated schools were born in the North (71.4 percent). To control for this difference, the following categories were devised; those individuals who were born in the North and attended desegregated elementary schools; those who were born in the North but attended segregated elementary schools; those who were born in the South but moved North before they were 10 years of age and attended desegregated elementary schools; those who were born in the South, moved North before they were 10 and attended segregated elementary schools; and finally, those who were born in the South, moved North *after* age 10 and attended segregated elementary schools. The frequency of respondents with such characteristics is reported in Table A.

A second variable differentiating adult Negroes with desegregated education and those with segregated education was age. Negroes in the sample who attended desegregated elementary schools were more likely to be older than similar Negro adults who attended segregated elementary schools.

The final variable on which desegregated and segregated Negro adults differed was sex; desegregated Negroes were more likely to be women (55 percent) contrasted to segregated Negroes (53 percent).

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[1] A pilot study conducted by NORC indicated that Negro adults who attended desegregated schools were more likely to be living in middle-income areas of small cities.

[2] The number of interviews obtained using this method is reported in Table A.

[3] All further references to "desegregated" and "segregated" schools or individuals will be based on these definitions.

TABLE A.—*Number of respondents by region of birth and type school attended*

Born in North, attended desegregated elementary school	282
Born in North, attended segregated elementary school	215
Born in South, moved North before age 10, and attended desegregated elementary school	113
Born in South, moved North before age 10, and attended segregated elementary school	126
Born in South, moved North after age 10, and attended segregated elementary school	832
No answer on one or more parts of questions	56
Total	1, 624
Spouses of respondents who attended desegregated schools	115
Grand total	1, 739

TABLE B.—*Number of respondents by sex, region of birth, and type school attended*

Sex	Type school attended by region of birth					
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)	Total
Males	174	104	73	332	42	725
Females	183	100	116	405	41	845
Total	357	204	189	737	83	1, 570

The Negro adults in the sample having a desegregated as opposed to segregated elementary education did not differ, on an average, on any family background characteristics. When place of birth was considered, however, desegregated and segregated northern-born respondents did not differ from each other, but the respondents born in the South, desegregated or segregated, had fathers with slightly lower educational attainments than the northern-born respondents.

Aim of Study

The objective of this study was to ascertain those occupational, income, aspirational and attitudinal differences between Negro adults which to some extent can be attributed to the racial composition of the schools they attended.

Throughout the Tables 1–15 that follow, region of birth, age, sex, and education will be controlled. References to this study in the body of the text will only be to northern-born respondents.

Abbreviated Questionnaire

The questions included in this shortened questionnaire are those on which the data reported are based.

1. Where were you born?
2. How old were you when you first moved to another (town/county)?
3. How old were you when you moved to another (town/county)?
4. When you were growing up did you play with white children often, sometimes, only rarely, or never?
    A. If ever: Did you have a close friend who was white when you were growing up?
        A. Yes.
        B. No.

5. Were there any white families living in the neighborhoods you lived in as a child?
   A. Yes.
   B. No.
  A. If yes: How many white families would you say there were?
   A. Just a few.
   B. Just a few, but they moved out.
   C. A large proportion but less than half.
   D. More than half.
   E. A large proportion, but they moved out.
   F. Just a few Negro families.

6. Into which of the groups on this card did your income fall last year (before taxes)?
   A. 0–$499
   B. $500–$1,499
   C. $1,500–$2,499
   D. $2,500–$3,499
   E. $3,500–$4,499
   F. $4,500–$5,499
   G. $5,500–$6,499
   H. $6,500–$7,499
   I. $7,500–$8,499
   J. $8,500–$9,499
   K. $9,500–$10,499
   L. $10,500–$11,449
   M. $11,500–$12,499
   N. $12,500–$13,499
   O. $13,500–$14,499
   P. $14,500 or over

Next I'd like to ask a few questions about the schools you attended.

7. How many different elementary schools did you attend—from the first through the sixth grade?
   A. 1–8.
   B. 9 or more.
   C. Never attended.

8. From the time you were in the first grade until you were in the eighth grade, did you ever go to school with white students?
   A. Yes.
   B. No.
  If yes:
   A. How many of those 8 years did you go to school with whites?
   ——Years.
   B. How many white students were there in that school?
    A. Few whites.
    B. Few, but they left.
    C. Less than half.
    D. About half.
    E. More than half.
    F. Large proportion, but they left.
    G. Almost all white.

9. Do you have children?
   A. Yes.
   B. No.

10. Are any of your children going to a school which is Negro or almost all-Negro now?
   A. Yes.
   B. No.
  A. If yes: How do you feel about that? Do you think it would be better if they went to a school which had some white students in it, or are they better off in an all-Negro school?
   A. Better off in school with whites.
   B. Better off where they are.
   C. Don't know.
  B. If no: Is it mostly white, mostly Negro, or about half and half?
   A. Mostly white.
   B. Half and half.
   C. Mostly Negro.

11. Would you be willing to send your child(ren) out of the neighborhood to go to an integrated school?
    - A. Yes.
    - B. No.
    - C. Don't know.

12. About how often do your children play with white children after school?
    - A. Never.
    - B. Seldom.
    - C. Sometimes.
    - D. Often.

13. Do you think it is a hardship on a Negro child to go to an integrated school if he is one of a small number of Negroes in the school?
    - A. Yes.
    - B. No.
    - C. Depends.

14. Is this neighborhood that you live in all Negro, mostly Negro, half Negro and half white, or mostly white?
    - A. All Negro.
    - B. Mostly Negro.
    - C. Half and half.
    - D. Mostly white.

15. Suppose someone came to you and told you that you could rent or buy a nice house, that you could afford, but it was in an all-white neighborhood and you might have some trouble out there. Are you the pioneering type who would move into a difficult situation like that?
    - A. Yes.
    - B. No.
    - C. Depends.

16. Are there any white people you regard as friends?
    - A. Yes.
    - B. No.

17. Most Negroes have some misgivings about being around white people. I want to read a few things that some Negroes have said about how they feel around white people, and you tell me whether you have felt like this frequently when you are around whites, whether you feel like this sometimes, or whether you never feel like this:
    - A. When I am around a white person, I am afraid he might say something which will show that he is prejudiced.
    - B. When I am around a white person, I am very careful not to make a bad impression.
    - C. I am afraid I might tell him what I really think about white people.
    - D. I am afraid I might lose my temper at something he says.
    - E. I know he is afraid he'll say something he shouldn't and it bothers me.

18. I'm going to read you a series of statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them.
    - A. Generally speaking, a lot of Negroes are lazy.
    - B. A lot of Negroes blame white people for their position in life, but the average Negro doesn't work hard enough in school and in his job.
    - C. The trouble with most white people is they think they're better than other people.
    - D. If a Negro is wise, he will think twice before he trusts a white man as much as he would another Negro.
    - E. Sometimes I would like to get even with white people for all they have done to the Negro.
    - F. There are very few, if any, white men who are really unprejudiced.
    - G. White people should make more of a distinction between respectable Negroes who are like them and poorly educated Negroes who are a group all their own.
    - H. Too many Negroes who have college degrees don't want to have anything to do with Negroes who are not as fortunate as they are.
    - I. This country would be better off is there were not so many foreigners here.

Table 1.—*Percent of adult Negroes where main family earner holds a white collar job by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

[In all the following tables, the numbers in parentheses represent the sample size]

Education	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	18.5 (92)	11.8 (76)	26.9 (52)	8.1 (246)	7.1 (28)
High school graduate	28.6 (133)	19.6 (51)	31.9 (69)	13.6 (162)	17.4 (23)
College	53.5 (101)	59.5 (42)	52.6 (38)	53.4 (103)	25.0 (12)

Table 2.—*Percent Negro adults with income levels over $6,500 per year (median income of the sample) by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

Education	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	42.3 (97)	36.6 (82)	35.6 (54)	41.3 (259)	46.9 (52)
High school graduate	62.8 (137)	52.8 (53)	50.7 (75)	46.5 (172)	44.0 (25)
College	75.5 (102)	77.3 (44)	76.3 (38)	68.2 (107)	78.6 (14)

Table 3.—*Percent of Negro adults living in mostly white neighborhoods by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

Education	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	27.3 (99)	20.7 (87)	27.9 (61)	32.1 (262)	18.7 (32)
High school graduate	35.5 (141)	17.0 (53)	31.6 (76)	26.9 (175)	20.0 (25)
College	36.3 (102)	28 9 (45)	32.4 (37)	33.6 (107)	35.7 (14)

Table 4.—*Percent Negro adults preferring desegregated neighborhood by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

Education	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	34.9 (86)	20.3 (79)	24.1 (58)	23.7 (241)	12.9 (31)
High school graduate	34.6 (130)	20.8 (48)	24.2 (66)	21.4 (154)	27.3 (22)
College	34.6 (81)	23.1 (39)	25.7 (35)	28.7 (87)	20.0 (10)

Table 5.—*Percent Negro adults willing to pioneer to white neighborhood by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

Education	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	58. 1 (93)	52. 4 (82)	41. 7 (60)	43. 9 (253)	56. 2 (32)
High school graduate	55. 6 (135)	40. 8 (49)	45. 2 (73)	52. 0 (171)	45. 5 (22)
College	59. 3 (86)	58. 5 (41)	45. 9 (37)	63. 1 (103)	50. 0 (12)

Table 6.—*Percent of Negro parents with children in desegregated schools by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

Education	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	44. 8 (58)	35. 4 (48)	37. 5 (40)	33. 3 (177)	42. 1 (19)
High school graduate	43. 1 (72)	37. 5 (16)	43. 9 (41)	27. 7 (83)	25. 0 (16)
College	63. 4 (41)	56. 2 (16)	50. 0 (12)	47. 3 (55)	28. 6 (7)

Table 6A.—*Percent of Negro parents with children in mostly white schools, by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

Education	Type school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	19. 6 (56)	6. 2 (48)	17. 5 (40)	11. 6 (173)	27. 8 (18)
High school graduate	21. 4 (70)	13. 3 (15)	22. 0 (41)	4. 9 (81)	6. 2 (16)
College	36. 6 (41)	25. 0 (16)	8. 3 (12)	40. 0 (55)	0 (7)

TABLE 7.—*Proportion of Negro adults reporting desegregated schools create hardships for Negro children by age, education, region of birth, and type school attended*

Age	Education						
	Some High school						
	TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY REGION OF BIRTH						
	North desegregated (North)		North segregated (North)	South desegregated (South/North)		South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
	All [1]	Some [1]		All [1]	Some [1]		
17–33	47.1 (17)	47.1 (34)	48.1 (54)	10.0 (10)	53.3 (30)	56.0 (141)	61.1 (18)
34–54	27.8 (18)	46.4 (28)	57.1 (42)	30.0 (10)	21.4 (14)	54.2 (286)	60.0 (20)
	High school graduate						
17–33	39.7 (58)	44.4 (63)	45.0 (60)	31.2 (16)	42.0 (50)	52.9 (153)	63.6 (22)
34–54	23.8 (63)	31.8 (22)	32.1 (28)	21.1 (19)	23.5 (17)	50.5 (101)	41.7 (12)

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[1] "All" refers to those respondents above whose entire education was in desegregated schools; "some" to those whose education was not entirely in desegregated schools.

Table 8.—*Percent of Negro adults having no close white friends by education, type of school attended, and region of birth*

Education	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	23.6 (89)	41.7 (60)	18.2 (55)	42.4 (165)	59.3 (27)
High school graduate	13.8 (123)	30.0 (40)	42.6 (68)	66.3 (92)	46.7 (15)
College	12.9 (93)	22.9 (35)	20.0 (35)	51.5 (66)	25.0 (12)

Table 9.—*Percent of Negro adults reporting close white friends by "played with whites," education, region of birth, and type of school attended*

Education	PLAYED WITH WHITES				
	Type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South segregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	84 (64)	77 (31)	95 (38)	80 (75)	58 (12)
High school graduate	89 (96)	83 (18)	74 (42)	70 (30)	100 (6)
College	92 (69)	95 (20)	83 (24)	71 (24)	100 (4)
	DID NOT PLAY WITH WHITES				
Some high school	56 (25)	37 (29)	53 (17)	40 (90)	27 (15)
High school graduate	74 (27)	59 (22)	31 (26)	16 (62)	22 (9)
College	70 (24)	53 (15)	73 (11)	36 (42)	63 (8)

Table 10.—*Proportion of Negroes reporting close white friends by duration of elementary school desegregation*

Years of elementary education in majority white schools	Percent with a close white friend now
1–3	21 (49)
4–7	35 (81)
8	42 (97)

Table 11.—*Proportion of Negro adults with high self-esteem by education, type of school attended and region of birth*

Education	Type school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
Some high school	63.6 (99)	42.5 (87)	50.8 (61)	44.2 (265)	48.4 (31)
High school graduate	68.3 (142)	62.3 (53)	58.4 (77)	46.8 (173)	48.0 (25)
College	78.4 (102)	75.6 (45)	63.2 (38)	63.9 (108)	57.1 (14)

TABLE 12.—*Proportion of Negro adults with high self esteem by close white friends, education, region of birth, and type of school attended*

Close white friend	Education—type school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
	Some high school				
No	59. 5 (37)	41. 0 (61)	40. 0 (20)	42. 1 (285)	46. 4 (28)
Yes	61. 0 (77)	48. 9 (47)	53. 8 (52)	49. 4 (172)	40. 0 (15)
	High school graduate				
No	57. 1 (35)	57. 7 (36)	52. 7 (38)	47. 2 (142)	47. 1 (17)
Yes	71. 7 (106)	67. 9 (28)	64. 1 (39)	45. 2 (31)	50. 0 (8)
	College				
No	85. 7 (21)	77. 8 (18)	50. 0 (10)	60. 5 (76)	60. 0 (5)
Yes	76. 5 (81)	94. 1 (27)	67. 9 (28)	71. 9 (32)	55. 6 (9)

TABLE 13.—*Proportion of Negro adults with high self-esteem by number of whites in neighborhoods, education, region of birth, and type of school attended*

Number of whites in neighborhood	Education—type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegrated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegreated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
	Some high school				
Half or more	60. 7 (61)	45. 8 (24)	55. 2 (29)	53. 4 (58)	50. 0 (12)
	High school graduate				
Half or more	71. 1 (90)	64. 3 (14)	64. 7 (34)	50. 0 (38)	100. 0 (2)
	College				
Half or more	77. 8 (63)	71. 4 (14)	75. 2 (20)	60. 0 (20)	50. 0 (4)

TABLE 14.—*Percent of Negro adults having high self-esteem by sex, education, region of birth, and type of school attended*

Sex	Education—type school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
	Some high school				
Male	71. 1 (38)	56. 4 (39)	52. 9 (17)	47. 4 (114)	52. 6 (19)
Female	59. 0 (61)	31. 2 (48)	50. 0 (44)	41. 7 (151)	41. 7 (12)
	High school graduate				
Male	73. 9 (69)	72. 4 (29)	60. 7 (28)	49. 2 (59)	64. 3 (14)
Female	63. 0 (73)	50. 0 (24)	57. 1 (49)	45. 6 (114)	27. 3 (11)
	College				
Male	78. 3 (60)	66. 7 (16)	63. 6 (22)	66. 7 (45)	40. 0 (5)
Female	78. 6 (42)	85. 1 (21)	62. 5 (16)	61. 9 (63)	66. 7 (9)

TABLE 15.—*Proportion of Negro adults with high self-esteem by age, education, region of birth, and type of school attended*

Age	Education—type of school attended by region of birth				
	North desegregated (North)	North segregated (North)	South desegregated (North)	South segregated (South)	South segregated (North)
	Some high School				
17–33	69. 4 (49)	44. 2 (52)	48. 8 (43)	45. 3 (106)	52. 6 (19)
34–54	58. 0 (50)	40. 0 (35)	55. 6 (18)	43. 2 (155)	41. 7 (12)
	High school graduate				
17–33	70. 7 (92)	65. 8 (38)	55. 1 (49)	50. 9 (114)	58. 8 (17)
34-54	64. 6 (48)	57. 1 (14)	64. 3 (28)	39. 7 (58)	25. 0 (8)
	College				
17–33	75. 0 (52)	81. 5 (27)	65. 4 (26)	69. 2 (52)	75. 0 (8)
34–54	82. 0 (50)	64. 7 (17)	63. 6 (11)	58. 9 (56)	33. 3 (6)

B. WHITE ADULT SURVEY

The data in section B are based on a national sample of white adults obtained by NORC in the summer of 1966. All white respondents were interviewed by white interviewers for approximately one hour. They were asked questions pertinent to their family backgrounds, their educational histories and attitudes toward race and civil rights.

THE EFFECTS UPON WHITE ADULTS OF EARLIER SCHOOLING WITH NEGROES

Introduction.

So much attention is paid to the effects of school desegregation upon Negro Americans that little thought has been given to the effects of such schooling upon white Americans. However, the data from the NORC survey 889a, conducted especially for the Commission during the summer of 1966, provide some interesting, if tentative, answers. Indeed, these data suggest a variety of benefits for later life deriving from schooling with Negroes—benefits ranging from more adult contact with Negro Americans to more favorable adult racial attitudes.

Necessary Controls

The opportunity to attend school with Negro Americans is not evenly distributed among white Americans. Table 1 reveals that those NORC respondents who are Northern, well-educated, and younger are more likely than others to report having attended schools with Negroes. Moreover, Table 2 demonstrates that within both education and age categories males are somewhat more likely to report interracial schooling than females. Since region, education, age, and sex are also generally important correlates of the dependent variables utilized in this analysis, all four of these variables must be controlled in the later tabulations as far as the sample size allows.

Table 3 introduces two further complications. First, very few respondents who have always lived in the South report biracial schooling to be precise, only six such cases are recorded—a number too small to analyze. The survey does not allow us to determine whether the 46 respondents who live in the South but report both desegregated schooling and residence outside the South actually experienced their biracial education in the North. But we may safely assume that most of them did in fact attend desegregated schools in the North. In any event, special analyses of these quasi-Southerners are made necessary by this confounding of biracial education with nonsouthern residence. No such analyses, however, are necessary for the northern sample, as no distinct difference emerges in reported desegregation and regional residence in this group.

A second complication raised by the results in Table 3 concerns the "liberal-conservative" political dimension. This domain is crudely tapped by an item that in a previous study divided the school segregationists from the integrationists among Boston voters better than any other item tested (see: Ross, Crawford, and Pettigrew, "Negro Neighbors—Banned in Boston," *Trans-action*, September–October 1966, *3*, 13–18): "A lot of professors and government experts have too much influence on too many things these days." Table 3 indicates some relationship between the "liberal" response—"No"—to this item and reported previous attendance at a desegregated school—particularly among the better educated.

Three possible explanations arise for this interesting relationship. First, it could merely reflect a reporting bias: that is, more liberal respondents are perhaps more willing to report desegregated experience than others even though there were no actual difference in the two groups' biracial experience. This possibility is unlikely, since these reported data are otherwise perfectly consistent with what is known about the distribution of previous desegregated schooling among adult white Americans. In addition, on another item of reported contact in the survey—present work with Negroes—those reporting desegregated education do not report more interracial contact.

those respondents who report a Negro friend are more positive toward interracial housing in 32 out of 33 comparisons—with the lone exception a tie. The power of the "friendship" variable is also revealed by the smaller magnitude of the desegregation-segregation differences and the greater number of reversals of the general trend in Table 10. Thus, the effects of desegregated schooling *per se* are strongest among those without a Negro friend in 12 out of 15 comparisons. In addition, in 10 out of 15 comparisons within educational and regional categories, those segregated respondents with a Negro friend are more favorable than desegregated respondents without a Negro friend.

Recall, too, that those with desegregated education actually more often live in interracial neighborhoods now. Perhaps, then, their more favorable attitudes toward such neighborhoods is purely a function of their living in them now. Table 11 checks on this possibility. Though there is a slight tendency for desegregated schooling to have a bigger effect among those in all-white neighborhoods, the general trend holds for those in biracial and uniracial areas.

Attitudes Toward Interracial Employment, Dining, and Education

The next set of tables, 12 through 15, extend the analysis to four additional acceptance items. The first two of these relate to employment: "Do you think that Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think that white people should have the first chance at any kind of job?" and "Would you favor or oppose making it against the law to discriminate against Negroes in employment?" The third question refers to a critical realm of racial social distance: "How strongly would you object if a member of your family wanted to bring a Negro home to dinner? Would you object strongly, mildly, or not at all?" The fourth item is concerned directly with school segregation: "In most cities there are many all-white elementary schools. Do you think Negro students who want to go to all-white schools should or should not be allowed to do so?"

Though not as impressive as previous differences, there is once again a reasonably consistent trend of those reporting desegregated schooling as children more often favoring Negro rights. In Table 12, 41 out of 48 comparisons support this pattern; in Table 13, 37 out of 44 support it; in Table 14, 33 out of 40 support it; though in Table 15, only 36 of 48 support it (with a one-tailed sign test on the results in Table 12, only the first and second items on employment reach statistical significance). Differences are small on the first item in large part because the great majority of both the northern and southern respondents agreed that Negroes should have an equal chance for jobs; reversals are particularly frequent, surprisingly enough, for the school desegregation item. College educated respondents reveal consistent findings, while older respondents reveal slightly more reversals to the trend.

Table 15 demonstrates again the power of "the Negro friend" variable to act as a major mediator of the desegregation effects. Not only are there more reversals to the general pattern in this table, but the percentage differences between the desegregated and the segregated narrow considerably and those segregated respondents with a Negro friend are slightly more accepting than desegregated respondents who never had a Negro as a close friend.

Attitudes Toward Negro Protest

Three additional items measure sentiment toward Negro protest: "How do you yourself feel about the actions Negroes have taken on civil rights in the past few years—would you say you approve of nearly all of the actions taken, approve of most of them, do you disapprove of most of the actions taken, or do you disapprove of nearly all of them?" "Do you think that the actions Negroes have taken have been generally violent or generally peaceful?"; and "Do you think the actions Negroes have taken have on the whole helped their cause or hurt their cause?" Here the desegregated-segregated differences are the least impressive of all. In Table 16, 28 out of 36 comparisons suggest slightly more approval of Negro protest among the previously desegregated whites; in Table 17, only 20 out of 33 comparisons confirm this trend; in Table 18, 23 of 30 do so; and in Table 19, 25 of 36 do so (again using the one-tailed sign test, none of the three items' differences between desegregated and segregated respondents reach statistical significance in Table 16). The trend is strongest among the college educated and the liberals; it is weakest—indeed, nonexistent—among the grade-school-educated and on the third item.

Once again the differences are quite small and reversals numerous when the Negro friend variable is controlled (Table 19).

Conclusions

This analysis of these NORC national data on white Americans suggests the following conclusions:

- Prior desegregated schooling enhances the probability that white Americans will have had and will continue to have contact with Negro Americans. Or, put negatively, school segregation as a child acts as a cumulative process and makes it less likely that the white American will experience other types of equal-status contact with Negroes. This effect may be strongest for those who hold liberal political views in general, but it is by no means limited to this segment of the white population.
- To a lesser extent, prior desegregated schooling enhances the probability that white Americans will express more positive attitudes toward interracial contact and Negro rights. These differences appear largest for neighborhood desegregation—an area of special conflict in American race relations today.
- Much, but not all, of the attitude difference associated with prior desegregated or segregated schooling is mediated by having had a close Negro friend. This is a powerful variable—slightly more powerful than school desegregation alone; and it often acts as a mediator of attitude effects because desegregated education greatly increases the opportunity to have a close Negro friend.
- Few consistent differences between the educationally desegregated and segregated can be detected in attitudes toward Negro protest.
- In short, the effects of prior school desegregation upon white American adults run in a reasonably direct fashion from that most closely connected to the interracial experience to that least connected to the experience. That is, childhood contact leads to later contact and to more favorable attitudes toward contact; it leads somewhat less to rejection of racially discriminatory practices, and little if any to more positive acceptance of Negro protest.
- The above conclusions are made tentative by a number of limitations of the data. We do not know, for instance, how long those reporting desegregated education experience actually attended school with Negroes. The most serious limitation, perhaps, is the inability to control for the racial composition of the neighborhoods in which the respondents grew up. Presumably, those who attended biracial schools as children were somewhat more likely to have lived in a biracial neighborhood. This means the school desegregation effects may in part be a function of more general experience with Negroes as children. This limitation, however, does not vitiate the above conclusions as to the effects of racial isolation more broadly conceived than just schools.

TABLE 1.—*Percentage of whites reporting desegregated schooling by education, age, and region of birth*

[The numbers in parentheses represent the sample size]

	North	South
Education:		
Grade school (1–8 years)	24.1 (193)	5.0 (120)
High school (9–12 years)	50.0 (500)	20.7 (164)
College (13 plus years)	55.1 (247)	26.5 (83)
Age:		
21–35	61.4 (293)	21.6 (97)
36–50	48.4 (285)	18.4 (103)
51 plus	31.9 (364)	13.2 (167)
Regional total	46.1 (942)	16.9 (367)

TABLE 2.—*Percentage of whites reporting desegregated schooling by education, age, region of birth, and sex*

	North		South	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Education:				
Grade school (1–8)	26.9 (108)	22.4 (85)	3.4 (59)	6.6 (61)
High school (9–12)	50.9 (218)	49.5 (285)	25.3 (75)	16.5 (91)
College (13 plus)	62.0 (137)	47.8 (113)	37.0 (46)	13.2 (38)
Age:				
21–35	65.9 (129)	57.9 (164)	26.7 (45)	17.0 (53)
36–50	48.6 (138)	50.0 (152)	25.0 (40)	14.1 (64)
51 plus	37.1 (197)	25.6 (168)	16.8 (95)	8.2 (73)

TABLE 3.—*Percentage of whites reporting desegregated schooling*

	North			South		
	Grade school	High school	College	Grade school	High school	College
Lived in other region	21.2 (33)	42.7 (117)	55.3 (85)	12.0 (25)	41.0 (61)	46.2 (39)
Always lived in present region	25.6 (168)	51.4 (401)	55.2 (174)	1.1 (87)	5.6 (89)	0.0 (36)
"A lot of professors and Government experts have too much influence on too many things these days:"						
Agree	25.7 (140)	50.6 (320)	47.9 (119)	3.8 (78)	17.8 (118)	17.8 (45)
Disagree	29.0 (31)	51.0 (155)	66.4 (116)	6.2 (16)	30.0 (40)	35.1 (37)

TABLE 4.—*Interracial contact and school desegregation, by education, region of birth, and sex*

Region of birth	Education	Sex	Percentage reporting Negro close friend ever		Percentage reporting Negro friend ever visited in home		Percentage reporting Negroes in neighborhood now	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Male	82.8 (29)	50.6 (79)	41.4 (29)	24.1 (79)	24.1 (29)	8.9 (79)
		Female	57.9 (19)	27.3 (66)	52.6 (19)	19.7 (66)	15.8 (19)	15.4 (65)
	High school	Male	66.7 (111)	34.6 (107)	30.6 (107)	14.0 (111)	25.2 (111)	13.5 (104)
		Female	44.7 (141)	22.9 (144)	35.5 (141)	18.1 (144)	28.6 (140)	14.0 (143)
	College	Male	71.8 (85)	51.9 (52)	48.2 (85)	28.8 (52)	25.6 (86)	13.5 (52)
		Female	46.3 (54)	32.2 (59)	45.3 (53)	25.4 (59)	27.8 (54)	22.0 (59)
South	Grade school	Male	66.7 (6)	56.1 (57)	33.3 (6)	17.5 (57)	33.3 (6)	31.6 (57)
		Female		38.6 (57)		26.3 (57)		26.3 (57)
	High school	Male	47.4 (19)	50.0 (56)	26.3 (19)	16.1 (56)	36.8 (19)	21.4 (56)
		Female	46.7 (15)	22.4 (76)	20.0 (15)	22.4 (76)	33.3 (15)	15.8 (12)
	College	Male	68.2 (22)	65.5 (29)	50.0 (22)	27.6 (29)	18.2 (22)	10.7 (28)
		Female		39.4 (33)		36.4 (33)		18.2 (33)

TABLE 5.—*Interracial contact and school desegregation, by education, region of birth and age*

Region of birth	Education	Age	Percentage reporting Negro close friend ever		Percentage reporting Negro friend ever visited in home		Percentage reporting Negroes in neighborhood now	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	21–35	50.0 (6)	46.2 (13)	50.0 (6)	23.1 (13)	33.3 (6)	0.0 (13)
		36–50	66.7 (15)	39.4 (33)	40.0 (15)	15.2 (33)	13.3 (15)	9.4 (32)
		51+	81.5 (27)	39.4 (99)	48.1 (27)	24.2 (99)	22.2 (29)	14.1 (99)
	High school	21–35	52.7 (110)	25.0 (68)	30.9 (110)	11.8 (68)	25.7 (109)	9.1 (66)
		36–50	58.8 (85)	26.4 (87)	37.6 (85)	14.9 (87)	25.9 (85)	14.0 (86)
		51+	50.9 (57)	31.2 (96)	31.6 (57)	20.8 (96)	31.6 (57)	16.8 (95)
	College	21–35	54.7 (64)	50.0 (32)	39.1 (64)	31.2 (32)	31.2 (64)	21.9 (32)
		36–50	62.8 (43)	30.8 (26)	50.0 (42)	34.6 (26)	25.6 (43)	19.2 (26)
		51+	75.0 (32)	41.5 (53)	59.4 (32)	20.8 (53)	18.2 (33)	15.1 (53)
South [1]	Grade school		---- (3)	45.5 (22)	---- (3)	22.7 (27)	---- (3)	31.8 (22)
	High school		48.0 (25)	25.0 (36)	24.0 (25)	19.4 (36)	24.0 (25)	13.9 (36)
	College		66.7 (18)	47.6 (21)	50.0 (18)	23.8 (21)	11.2 (18)	4.8 (21)

[1] Only those who have resided outside of region.

Table 6.—*Interracial contact and school desegregation, by region of birth, education, and political attitude*[1]

Region of birth	Education	Poltical attitude	Percentage reporting Negro close friend ever		Percentage reporting Negro friend ever visited in home		Percentage reporting Negroes in neighborhood now	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Conservative[1]	75.0 (36)	41.3 (104)	44.4 (36)	21.2 (104)	19.4 (36)	9.7 (103)
		Liberal	66.7 (9)	40.9 (22)	55.6 (9)	13.6 (22)	22.2 (9)	18.2 (22)
	High school	Conservative	53.7 (162)	27.8 (158)	32.1 (162)	17.7 (158)	27.2 (162)	14.0 (157)
		Liberal	54.4 (79)	27.6 (76)	34.2 (79)	14.5 (76)	28.2 (78)	14.7 (75)
	College	Conservative	61.4 (57)	41.9 (62)	37.5 (56)	30.6 (62)	20.7 (58)	17.7 (62)
		Liberal	62.3 (77)	38.5 (39)	54.5 (77)	23.1 (39)	31.2 (77)	15.4 (39)
South	Grade school	Conservative	— (3)	48.0 (75)	— (3)	24.0 (75)	— (3)	28.0 (75)
		Liberal	— (1)	53.3 (15)	— (1)	20.0 (15)	— (1)	33.3 (15)
	High school	Conservative	42.9 (21)	36.1 (97)	23.8 (21)	18.6 (97)	28.6 (21)	20.6 (97)
		Liberal	58.3 (12)	25.0 (28)	25.0 (12)	17.9 (28)	50.0 (12)	14.3 (28)
	College	Conservative	87.5 (8)	54.1 (37)	50.0 (8)	35.1 (37)	25.0 (8)	16.7 (36)
		Liberal	61.5 (13)	50.0 (24)	53.8 (13)	29.2 (24)	15.4 (13)	12.5 (24)

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[1] "Conservative" and "liberal" are defined in terms of agreement or disagreement respectively with the statement: "A lot of professors and government experts have too much influence on too many things these days."

Table 7.—*Attitudes toward interracial neighborhoods and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and sex*

Region of birth	Education	Sex	Percentage reporting acceptance of "a Negro" on block		Percentage reporting acceptance of equal-status Negro on block		Percentage agreeing that Negro has right to live anywhere	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Male	82. 4 (29)	59. 5 (79)	79. 3 (29)	64. 6 (79)	75. 9 (29)	56. 4 (78)
		Female	84. 2 (19)	57. 6 (66)	84. 2 (19)	65. 2 (66)	57. 9 (19)	60. 6 (66)
	High school	Male	58. 6 (111)	61. 3 (106)	73. 6 (110)	72. 6 (106)	71. 3 (108)	73. 8 (107)
		Female	67. 4 (141)	66. 0 (144)	79. 9 (139)	74. 3 (144)	78. 4 (139)	68. 3 (142)
	College	Male	67. 4 (86)	57. 7 (52)	80. 2 (86)	73. 1 (52)	78. 6 (84)	71. 2 (52)
		Female	72. 2 (54)	71. 2 (59)	90. 6 (53)	81. 4 (59)	84. 3 (51)	72. 9 (59)
South	Grade school	Male	83. 3 (6)	52. 6 (57)	83. 3 (6)	53. 6 (56)	60. 0 (5)	49. 1 (57)
		Female		43. 9 (57)		49. 1 (57)		37. 5 (56)
	High school	Male	68. 4 (19)	35. 7 (56)	68. 4 (19)	44. 6 (56)	57. 9 (19)	41. 8 (55)
		Female	26. 7 (15)	37. 3 (75)	60. 0 (15)	46. 1 (75)	46. 7 (15)	46. 7 (75)
	College	Male	86. 4 (22)	34. 5 (29)	86. 4 (22)	44. 8 (29)	86. 4 (22)	42. 9 (28)
		Female		33. 3 (33)		51. 5 (33)		56. 7 (30)

Table 8.—*Attitudes toward interracial neighborhoods and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and age*

Region of birth	Education	Age	Percentage reporting acceptance of "a Negro" on block		Percentage reporting acceptance of equal-status Negro on block		Percentage agreeing that Negro has right to live anywhere	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	21–35	100.0 (6)	76.9 (13)	100.0 (6)	84.6 (13)	66.7 (6)	61.5 (13)
		36–50	86.7 (15)	54.5 (33)	80.0 (15)	54.5 (33)	66.7 (15)	57.6 (33)
		51+	77.8 (27)	57.6 (99)	77.8 (27)	65.7 (99)	70.4 (27)	58.2 (98)
	High school	21–35	63.6 (110)	58.8 (68)	70.6 (109)	66.2 (68)	72.2 (108)	75.0 (68)
		36–50	65.9 (85)	65.5 (87)	80.0 (85)	76.7 (86)	79.5 (66)	73.3 (63)
		51+	59.6 (57)	66.3 (95)	85.5 (55)	76.0 (96)	75.0 (56)	65.3 (95)
	College	21–35	70.3 (64)	65.6 (32)	85.9 (64)	75.0 (32)	85.5 (62)	84.4 (32)
		36–50	76.7 (43)	61.5 (26)	86.0 (43)	84.6 (26)	81.0 (42)	65.4 (26)
		51+	57.6 (33)	66.0 (53)	78.1 (32)	75.5 (53)	71.0 (31)	67.9 (53)
South[1]	Grade school		— (3)	50.0 (22)	— (3)	50.0 (22)	— (3)	38.1 (21)
	High school		56.4 (25)	54.3 (35)	68.0 (25)	58.3 (36)	52.0 (25)	48.6 (35)
	College		88.9 (18)	23.8 (21)	88.9 (18)	47.6 (21)	88.9 (18)	42.1 (19)

[1] Only those who have resided outside of region.

Table 9.—*Attitudes toward interracial neighborhoods and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and political attitude*

Region of birth	Education	Political attitude	Percentage reporting acceptance of "a Negro" on block		Percentage reporting acceptance of equal-status Negro on block		Percentage agreeing that Negro has right to live anywhere	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Conservative [1]	83.3 (36)	56.7 (104)	80.6 (36)	63.5 (104)	72.2 (36)	58.3 (103)
		Liberal	88.9 (9)	72.7 (22)	100.0 (9)	72.7 (22)	66.7 (9)	59.1 (22)
	High school	Conservative	59.3 (162)	63.3 (158)	78.1 (162)	75.2 (158)	72.2 (158)	68.2 (157)
		Liberal	69.6 (79)	65.8 (76)	74.4 (78)	71.1 (76)	78.5 (79)	77.6 (76)
	College	Conservative	67.2 (58)	54.8 (62)	73.7 (57)	74.2 (62)	71.9 (57)	64.5 (62)
		Liberal	70.1 (77)	79.5 (39)	90.9 (77)	84.6 (39)	87.7 (73)	84.6 (39)
South	Grade school	Conservative	— (3)	41.3 (75)	— (3)	50.7 (75)	— (3)	37.3 (75)
		Liberal	— (1)	53.3 (15)	— (1)	57.1 (14)	— (0)	71.4 (14)
	High school	Conservative	42.9 (21)	36.1 (97)	61.9 (21)	42.3 (97)	47.6 (21)	43.3 (97)
		Liberal	58.3 (12)	33.3 (27)	67.8 (12)	50.0 (28)	66.7 (12)	48.1 (27)
	College	Conservative	100.0 (8)	40.5 (37)	87.5 (8)	40.5 (37)	87.5 (8)	39.4 (33)
		Liberal	76.9 (13)	25.0 (24)	84.6 (13)	58.3 (24)	84.6 (13)	66.7 (24)

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[1] "Conservative" and "liberal" are defined in terms of agreement or disagreement respectively with the statement: "A lot of professors and Government experts have too much influence on too many things these days."

TABLE 10.—*Attitudes toward interracial neighborhoods and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and interracial contact*

Region of birth	Education	Having a Negro friend	Percentage reporting acceptance of "a Negro" on block		Percentage reporting acceptance of equal-status Negro on block		Percentage agreeing that Negro has right to live anywhere	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Negro friend	85.7 (35)	74.1 (58)	85.7 (35)	81.0 (58)	68.6 (35)	66.7 (57)
		No Negro friend	76.9 (13)	48.3 (87)	69.2 (13)	54.0 (87)	69.2 (13)	52.9 (87)
	High school	Negro friend	70.8 (137)	76.8 (69)	83.8 (136)	79.7 (69)	79.1 (134)	82.9 (70)
		No Negro friend	54.8 (115)	59.1 (181)	69.0 (113)	71.3 (181)	70.8 (113)	65.9 (179)
	College	Negro friend	76.7 (86)	76.1 (46)	87.1 (85)	89.1 (46)	84.5 (84)	84.8 (46)
		No Negro friend	58.5 (53)	56.9 (65)	81.1 (53)	69.2 (65)	76.0 (50)	63.1 (65)
South	Grade school	Negro friend	83.3 (6)	66.7 (54)	83.3 (6)	64.2 (53)	60.0 (5)	50.0 (54)
		No Negro friend		31.7 (60)		40.0 (60)		37.3 (59)
	High school	Negro friend	50.0 (16)	53.3 (45)	75.0 (16)	60.0 (45)	68.7 (16)	53.3 (45)
		No Negro friend	50.0 (18)	27.9 (86)	55.6 (18)	37.9 (87)	38.9 (18)	40.0 (85)
	College	Negro friend	86.7 (15)	37.5 (32)	93.3 (15)	59.4 (32)	86.7 (15)	57.1 (28)
		No Negro friend	85.7 (7)	30.0 (30)	71.4 (7)	36.7 (30)	85.7 (7)	43.3 (30)

TABLE 11.—*Attitudes toward interracial neighborhoods and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and neighborhood racial composition*

Region of birth	Education	Racial character of neighborhood	Percentage reporting acceptance of "a Negro" on block		Percentage reporting acceptance of equal-status Negro on block		Percentage agreeing that Negro has right to live anywhere	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Biracial neighborhood	80.0 (10)	35.3 (17)	70.0 (10)	64.7 (17)	70.0 (10)	43.7 (16)
		All-white neighborhood	84.2 (38)	61.4 (127)	84.2 (38)	64.6 (127)	68.4 (38)	59.8 (127)
	High school	Biracial neighborhood	72.1 (68)	67.6 (34)	80.6 (67)	85.3 (34)	80.0 (65)	87.9 (33)
		All-white neighborhood	60.1 (183)	62.7 (212)	75.8 (182)	71.4 (213)	73.5 (181)	67.5 (212)
	College	Biracial neighborhood	86.5 (37)	90.0 (20)	91.9 (37)	95.0 (20)	91.4 (35)	80.0 (20)
		All-white neighborhood	63.1 (103)	59.3 (91)	81.4 (102)	73.6 (91)	77.0 (100)	70.3 (91)
South	Grade school	Biracial neighborhood	83.3 (6)	63.6 (33)	83.3 (6)	69.7 (33)	60.0 (9)	53.1 (32)
		All-white neighborhood		42.0 (81)		43.7 (80)		39.5 (81)
	High school	Biracial neighborhood	50.0 (12)	45.8 (24)	58.3 (12)	62.5 (24)	66.7 (12)	54.2 (24)
		All-white neighborhood	50.0 (22)	34.6 (107)	68.2 (22)	41.7 (108)	45.5 (22)	42.5 (106)
	College	Biracial neighborhood	86.4 (22)	77.8 (9)	86.4 (22)	88.9 (9)	86.4 (22)	77.8 (9)
		All-white neighborhood		26.9 (52)		40.4 (52)		45.8 (48)

TABLE 12.—*Attitudes toward discrimination and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and sex*

Region of birth	Education	Sex	Percentage holding Negroes should have equal job chance		Percentage favoring antidiscrimination employment law		Percentage with no objection to Negro to dinner		Percentage who would allow Negroes to all-white schools	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school.	Male	82.8 (29)	77.2 (79)	51.7 (29)	49.4 (79)	34.5 (29)	55.7 (79)	82.1 (28)	54.4 (79)
		Female	100.0 (19)	84.8 (66)	42.1 (19)	51.5 (66)	84.2 (19)	56.9 (65)	63.2 (19)	71.2 (66)
	High school.	Male	91.9 (111)	84.9 (106)	51.4 (111)	52.3 (107)	63.1 (111)	58.5 (106)	72.2 (108)	79.0 (105)
		Female	91.5 (141)	90.3 (144)	47.1 (140)	36.1 (144)	58.9 (141)	51.0 (143)	74.8 (104)	75.5 (108)
	College	Male	95.3 (86)	92.3 (52)	57.0 (86)	51.9 (52)	77.6 (85)	67.3 (52)	77.9 (86)	76.9 (50)
		Female	100.0 (54)	94.9 (59)	63.0 (54)	46.6 (58)	79.6 (54)	69.5 (59)	83.3 (54)	74.6 (59)
South	Grade school.	Male	66.7 (6)	66.7 (57)	33.3 (6)	22.8 (57)	66.7 (6)	26.3 (57)	100.0 (6)	29.8 (57)
		Female		61.4 (57)		26.3 (57)		24.6 (57)		26.3 (57)
	High school.	Male	89.5 (19)	82.1 (56)	68.4 (19)	30.4 (56)	26.3 (19)	21.4 (56)	73.7 (19)	39.3 (56)
		Female	100.0 (15)	79.7 (74)	46.7 (15)	42.1 (76)	26.7 (15)	15.8 (76)	60.0 (15)	43.4 (76)
	College	Male	100.0 (22)	78.6 (28)	54.5 (22)	37.9 (29)	81.8 (22)	20.7 (29)	81.8 (22)	57.1 (28)
		Female		93.9 (33)		28.1 (32)		30.3 (33)		51.5 (33)

Table 13.—*Attitudes toward discrimination and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and age*

Region of birth	Education	Age	Percentage holding Negroes should have equal job chance		Percentage favoring antidiscrimination employment law		Percentage with no objection to Negro to dinner		Percentage who would allow Negroes to all-white schools	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school.	21–35	83. 3 (6)	100. 0 (13)	33. 3 (6)	69. 2 (13)	83. 3 (6)	53. 8 (13)	80. 5 (5)	61. 5 (13)
		36–50	93. 3 (15)	87. 9 (33)	46. 7 (15)	39. 4 (33)	53. 3 (15)	51. 5 (33)	66. 7 (15)	63. 6 (33)
		51+	88. 9 (27)	75. 8 (99)	51. 9 (99)	51. 5 (27)	48. 1 (98)	58. 2 (27)	77. 8 (27)	61. 6 (99)
	High school.	21–35	91. 8 (110)	89. 7 (68)	47. 3 (110)	36. 8 (68)	55. 5 (110)	41. 8 (67)	79. 6 (108)	69. 1 (68)
		36–50	94. 1 (85)	90. 8 (87)	48. 2 (85)	39. 1 (87)	65. 9 (85)	51. 7 (87)	68. 3 (82)	77. 9 (86)
		51+	87. 7 (57)	84. 2 (95)	53. 6 (56)	51. 0 (96)	63. 2 (57)	65. 3 (95)	83. 7 (43)	80. 8 (26)
	College	21–35	100. 0 (64)	100. 0 (32)	57. 8 (64)	48. 4 (31)	76. 6 (64)	71. 9 (32)	87. 5 (64)	76. 6 (32)
		36–50	95. 3 (43)	92. 3 (26)	69. 8 (43)	50. 0 (26)	81. 0 (42)	65. 4 (26)	83. 7 (43)	80. 8 (26)
		51+	93. 9 (33)	90. 6 (53)	48. 5 (33)	49. 1 (53)	78. 8 (33)	67. 9 (53)	81. 8 (33)	66. 0 (53)
South [1]	Grade school		— (3)	63. 6 (22)	— (3)	22. 7 (22)	— (3)	36. 4 (22)	— (3)	31. 8 (22)
	High school		92. 0 (25)	88. 9 (36)	64. 0 (25)	41. 7 (36)	32. 0 (25)	27. 8 (36)	72. 0 (25)	38. 9 (36)
	College		100. 0 (18)	81. 0 (21)	61. 1 (18)	38. 1 (21)	88. 9 (18)	28. 6 (21)	83. 3 (18)	52. 4 (21)

[1] Only those who have resided outside of region.

TABLE 14.—*Attitudes toward discrimination and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and political attitude*

Region of birth	Education	Political attitude	Percentage holding Negroes should have equal job chance		Percentage favoring antidiscrimination employment law		Percentage with no objection to Negro to dinner		Percentage who would allow Negroes to all-white schools	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school.	Conservative.[1]	91. 7 (33)	78. 8 (82)	47. 2 (36)	50. 0 (104)	50. 0 (36)	54. 4 (103)	80. 0 (35)	57. 7 (104)
		Liberal	88. 9 (9)	90. 9 (22)	66. 7 (9)	50. 0 (22)	77. 8 (9)	68. 2 (22)	77. 8 (9)	77. 3 (22)
	High school.	Conservative.	87. 7 (162)	86. 1 (158)	45. 1 (162)	40. 5 (158)	60. 5 (102)	50. 6 (158)	71. 2 (160)	75. 6 (156)
		Liberal	98. 7 (79)	92. 1 (76)	54. 4 (79)	47. 4 (36)	62. 0 (79)	62. 7 (75)	75. 0 (76)	81. 3 (75)
	College	Conservative.	96. 6 (58)	91. 9 (62)	56. 9 (58)	50. 0 (62)	70. 7 (58)	61. 3 (62)	77. 6 (58)	67. 7 (62)
		Liberal	98. 7 (77)	94. 9 (39)	62. 3 (77)	52. 6 (38)	84. 2 (76)	74. 4 (39)	81. 8 (77)	89. 7 (39)
South	Grade school.	Conservative.	— (3)	61. 3 (75)	— (3)	25. 3 (19)	— (3)	28. 0 (75)	— (3)	25. 3 (75)
		Liberal	— (1)	53. 3 (15)	— (1)	33. 3 (15)	— (1)	20. 0 (15)	— (1)	40. 0 (15)
	High school.	Conservative.	95. 2 (21)	78. 9 (95)	52. 4 (21)	29. 9 (97)	23. 8 (21)	18. 6 (97)	61. 9 (21)	40. 2 (97)
		Liberal	100. 0 (12)	85. 7 (28)	75. 0 (12)	50. 0 (28)	33. 3 (12)	10. 7 (28)	83. 3 (12)	46. 4 (28)
	College	Conservative.	100. 0 (8)	88. 9 (32)	62. 5 (8)	27. 8 (36)	75. 0 (8)	21. 6 (37)	62. 5 (8)	47. 2 (36)
		Liberal	100. 0 (13)	83. 3 (24)	46. 2 (13)	37. 5 (24)	84. 6 (13)	29. 2 (24)	92. 3 (13)	66. 7 (24)

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[1] "Conservative" and "liberal" are defined in terms of agreement or disagreement respectively with the statement: "A lot of professors and Government experts have too much influence on too many things these days."

Table 15.—*Attitudes toward discrimination and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and interracial contact*

Region of birth	Education	Having a Negro friend	Percentage holding Negroes should have equal job chance		Percentage favoring antidiscrimination employment law		Percentage with no objection to Negro to dinner		Percentage who would allow Negroes to all-white schools	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade School.	Negro friend.	85. 7 (35)	89. 7 (58)	51. 4 (35)	88. 6 (58)	51. 4 (35)	63. 8 (58)	73. 5 (34)	63. 8 (58)
		No Negro friend.	100. 0 (13)	74. 7 (87)	38. 5 (13)	44. 8 (87)	61. 5 (13)	51. 2 (86)	76. 9 (13)	60. 9 (87)
	High school.	Negro friend.	96. 4 (137)	94. 2 (69)	49. 3 (136)	45. 7 (70)	70. 1 (137)	66. 7 (69)	75. 0 (132)	76. 8 (69)
		No Negro friend.	86. 1 (115)	85. 6 (181)	48. 7 (115)	42. 0 (181)	49. 6 (115)	49. 4 (180)	72. 8 (114)	77. 1 (17)
	College	Negro friend.	96. 5 (86)	97. 8 (46)	54. 7 (86)	54. 7 (46)	82. 4 (85)	87. 0 (46)	81. 4 (86)	84. 8 (46)
		No Negro friend.	98. 1 (53)	90. 8 (65)	67. 9 (53)	51. 6 (64)	71. 7 (53)	55. 4 (65)	79. 2 (53)	69. 2 (65)
South	Grade school.	Negro friend.	66. 7 (6)	72. 2 (54)	33. 1 (6)	24. 1 (54)	66. 7 (6)	25. 9 (54)	100. 0 (6)	33. 3 (54)
		No Negro friend.		56. 7 (60)		25. 0 (60)		25. 0 (60)		23. 3 (60)
	High school.	Negro friend.	100. 0 (16)	88. 9 (45)	75. 0 (16)	44. 4 (45)	43. 7 (16)	28. 9 (45)	93. 7 (16)	51. 1 (45)
		No Negro friend.	88. 9 (18)	76. 5 (85)	44. 4 (18)	33. 3 (87)	11. 1 (18)	12. 6 (87)	44. 4 (18)	36. 8 (87)
	College	Negro friend.	100. 0 (15)	84. 4 (32)	66. 7 (15)	35. 5 (31)	86. 7 (15)	31. 2 (82)	86. 7 (15)	61. 3 (31)
		No Negro friend.	100. 0 (7)	89. 7 (29)	28. 6 (7)	30. 0 (30)	71. 4 (7)	20. 0 (30)	71. 4 (7)	46. 7 (30)

Table 16.—*Attitudes toward Negro protest and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and sex*

Region of birth	Education	Sex	Percentage who approve most Negro protest		Percentage who think most Negro protest is peaceful		Percentage who think Negro protest helps cause	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Male	31. 0 (29)	28. 2 (78)	44. 8 (29)	32. 9 (79)	24. 1 (29)	33. 3 (78)
		Female	15. 8 (19)	23. 4 (64)	15. 8 (19)	24. 2 (66)	31. 6 (19)	27. 3 (66)
	High school	Male	25. 7 (109)	31. 8 (107)	45. 5 (110)	43. 9 (107)	35. 1 (111)	43. 9 (107)
		Female	32. 6 (138)	29. 1 (141)	33. 3 (141)	32. 2 (143)	32. 6 (141)	35. 7 (143)
	College	Male	59. 3 (81)	38. 4 (52)	66. 7 (84)	51. 9 (52)	65. 5 (84)	44. 2 (52)
		Female	51. 9 (54)	48. 2 (56)	53. 7 (54)	47. 5 (59)	57. 4 (54)	32. 2 (59)
South	Grade school	Male	50. 0 (6)	10. 6 (57)	50. 0 (6)	15. 8 (57)	33. 3 (6)	10. 5 (57)
		Female		3. 6 (55)		12. 3 (57)		17. 5 (57)
	High school	Male	42. 1 (19)	11. 2 (54)	52. 6 (19)	19. 6 (56)	42. 1 (19)	19. 6 (56)
		Female	6. 7 (15)	8. 0 (75)	13. 3 (15)	18. 4 (76)	13. 3 (15)	17. 1 (76)
	College	Male	47. 6 (21)	14. 8 (27)	54. 5 (22)	31. 0 (29)	68. 1 (22)	27. 6 (29)
		Female		12. 1 (33)		27. 3 (33)		27. 3 (33)

Table 17.—*Attitudes toward Negro protest and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and age*

Region of birth	Education	Age	Percentage who approve most Negro protest		Percentage who think most Negro protest is peaceful		Percentage who think Negro protest helps cause	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	21–35	16.7 (6)	7.7 (13)	16.7 (6)	30.8 (13)	16.7 (6)	38.5 (13)
		36–50	33.4 (15)	42.7 (33)	26.7 (15)	42.4 (33)	40.0 (15)	42.4 (33)
		51+	22.2 (27)	22.9 (96)	40.7 (27)	24.2 (99)	22.2 (27)	25.5 (98)
	High school	21–35	31.7 (107)	25.4 (67)	35.5 (110)	35.3 (68)	32.7 (110)	36.8 (68)
		36–50	32.2 (84)	26.7 (86)	45.2 (84)	35.6 (87)	37.6 (85)	40.2 (87)
		51+	21.4 (56)	36.8 (95)	35.1 (57)	40.0 (95)	29.8 (57)	40.0 (95)
	College	21–35	50.0 (64)	53.4 (30)	59.4 (64)	56.2 (32)	62.5 (64)	56.2 (32)
		36–50	65.0 (40)	50.0 (26)	74.4 (43)	57.7 (26)	69.8 (43)	46.2 (26)
		51+	58.1 (31)	34.6 (52)	48.4 (31)	41.5 (53)	51.6 (31)	22.6 (53)
South [1]	Grade school		— (3)	9.1 (22)	— (3)	13.6 (22)	— (3)	13.6 (22)
	High school		32.0 (25)	8.6 (35)	40.0 (25)	38.9 (36)	32.0 (25)	19.4 (36)
	College		46.1 (17)	15.8 (19)	61.1 (18)	33.3 (21)	72.2 (18)	23.8 (21)

[1] Only those who have resided outside of region.

TABLE 18.—*Attitudes toward Negro protest and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and political attitudes*

Region of birth	Education	Political attitude[1]	Percentage who approve most Negro protest		Percentage who think most Negro protest is peaceful		Percentage who think Negro protest helps cause	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Conservative	30.6 (36)	25.3 (103)	33.3 (36)	30.8 (104)	30.6 (36)	27.9 (104)
		Liberal	11.1 (9)	33.3 (21)	44.4 (9)	27.3 (22)	11.1 (9)	42.9 (21)
	High school	Conservative	27.3 (161)	27.6 (156)	35.2 (162)	33.5 (158)	30.2 (162)	39.9 (158)
		Liberal	32.0 (75)	36.9 (76)	43.0 (79)	46.1 (76)	39.2 (79)	42.1 (76)
	College	Conservative	47.4 (57)	36.6 (60)	54.4 (57)	40.3 (62)	50.9 (57)	30.6 (62)
		Liberal	63.6 (74)	46.1 (39)	62.2 (77)	61.5 (39)	72.7 (77)	51.3 (39)
South	Grade school	Conservative	— (3)	4.1 (73)	— (3)	16.0 (75)	— (3)	10.7 (75)
		Liberal	— (1)	6.7 (15)	— (1)	13.3 (15)	— (1)	20.0 (15)
	High school	Conservative	19.0 (21)	6.2 (96)	28.6 (21)	17.5 (97)	19.0 (21)	16.5 (97)
		Liberal	41.7 (12)	19.2 (26)	50.0 (12)	21.4 (28)	41.7 (12)	25.0 (28)
	College	Conservative	37.5 (8)	8.6 (35)	50.0 (8)	32.4 (37)	37.5 (8)	21.6 (37)
		Liberal	50.0 (12)	20.9 (24)	53.8 (13)	25.0 (24)	84.6 (13)	37.5 (24)

[1] "Conservative" and "liberal" are defined in terms of agreement or disagreement respectively with the statement: "A lot of professors and government experts have too much influence on too many things these days."

Table 19.—*Attitudes toward Negro protest and desegregated schooling, by region of birth, education, and interracial contact*

Region of birth	Education	Having a Negro friend	Percentage who approve most Negro protest		Percentage who think most Negro protest is peaceful		Percentage who think Negro protest helps cause	
			Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated	Desegregated	Segregated
North	Grade school	Negro friend	22.9 (35)	32.7 (58)	34.3 (35)	36.2 (58)	34.3 (35)	27.6 (58)
		No Negro friend	30.8 (13)	21.5 (84)	30.8 (13)	24.1 (87)	7.7 (13)	32.6 (86)
	High school	Negro friend	32.8 (134)	37.2 (70)	45.6 (136)	44.3 (70)	40.1 (137)	42.9 (70)
		No Negro friend	25.7 (113)	27.6 (178)	30.4 (115)	34.4 (180)	26.1 (115)	37.8 (180)
	College	Negro friend	61.4 (83)	55.6 (45)	67.1 (85)	58.7 (46)	61.2 (85)	50.0 (46)
		No Negro friend	48.1 (52)	34.9 (63)	52.8 (53)	43.1 (65)	64.2 (53)	29.2 (65)
South	Grade school	Negro friend	50.0 (6)	11.3 (53)	16.7 (6)	18.5 (54)	33.3 (6)	16.7 (54)
		No Negro friend		3.4 (59)		10.0 (60)		11.7 (60)
	High school	Negro friend	37.5 (16)	6.8 (44)	50.0 (16)	8.9 (45)	43.7 (16)	15.6 (45)
		No Negro friend	16.7 (18)	10.6 (85)	22.2 (18)	24.1 (87)	16.7 (18)	19.5 (87)
	College	Negro friend	50.0 (14)	12.5 (32)	60.0 (15)	25.0 (32)	66.7 (15)	18.7 (32)
		No Negro friend	42.9 (7)	14.3 (28)	42.9 (7)	33.3 (30)	71.4 (7)	36.7 (30)

Appendix D 1

EVALUATION OF EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM, PHILADELPHIA, PA., AND MADISON AREA PROJECT, SYRACUSE, N.Y.

(These studies were designed by Dr. Marvin Cline, Howard University, who conducted the data collection and interviewed school offiicals. The analysis was performed by Dr. Cline and members of the Commission staff.)

A: *Education Improvement Program—Philadelphia, Pa.*

In order to assess the relative effectiveness of the compensatory education program in Philadelphia, known as the Educational Improvement Program, a sample of elementary schools [1] was taken from each of the following categories of schools in the system:

1. Those schools involved in the Educational Improvement Program (EIP). A school qualified for participation in EIP if it was a member of the lowest 25 percent of the distribution of academic achievement scores. In each case, the schools selected were located in the school districts with the lowest mean family income in the city and were largely Negro in composition.[2] The schools selected to participate in this study were representative of the size and social characteristics of the total group of EIP schools and had, in each case, better than 95-percent Negro enrollment. The total enrollment of each class utilized in this study was included in this analysis.

2. Those schools located in the nearly all-Negro, low income school districts of the city, but whose academic performance was not low enough to qualify for participation in EIP. These schools are designated as non-EIP schools. The total enrollment of each class utilized was included in this analysis.

3. Those schools located in predominantly Negro neighborhoods but in which the Negro enrollment did not exceed 85 percent of the total enrollment and was not less than 50 percent of the total enrollment. The academic performance of the children in these schools was not low enough to allow these schools to participate in EIP. These schools are designated the integrated, majority Negro schools (Int.-Maj.-N.). Only the Negro pupils enrolled in the classes selected from each school in the sample were included in the analysis.

4. Those schools located in predominantly white neighborhoods into which Negro children were bused. (Int.-Maj.-W.) These schools did not qualify for participation in EIP. The Negro pupils attending these schools were bused from Negro neighborhoods, generally those serviced by EIP schools. As will be demonstrated below, these bused Negro pupils were roughly comparable to the Negro pupils in EIP schools in academic

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[1] Table of sample size (drawn from districts Nos. 1–6):

School category	Total number schools in school category	Number schools in study sample
EIP	66	15
Non-EIP	29	11
Integrated-Majority Negro	7	6
Integrated-Majority White	35	14

[2] All sample selection was conducted in consultation with Associate Superintendent David A. Horowitz, Office of Planning, School District of Philadelphia. The selection of the sample, factors of comparability between the 4 school categories, and stability of classes within the sample populations rest upon his knowledge and recommendations.

skills at the time that the busing started (see table 1) and they are comparable to the Negro children in the EIP schools on measures of socioeconomic status.[3]

The busing program and EIP started in the fall of 1964. A number of schools whose history with regard to EIP can be traced were selected. Thus, the current fourth grade in the city of Philadelphia was in the first grade before the programs started, and was in the second and third grades after the programs started. The achievement histories of these classes from the year before they entered the program in 1964 to the most recent year they completed were followed. For the current fourth grade, this includes 2 years of schooling during the history of the program.

The test scores included in the study are derived from reading achievement tests constructed and standardized by the city school system on the local population.[4] The scores are given in the form of standard scores which simply identifies the position of any raw source on the total citywide distribution of those raw scores. The major advantage of this method of scoring is that any group of pupils can be compared to any other group of pupils with respect to their relative standing in their respective universes. Thus, a fourth-grade class standing in reading achievement (in respect to all other fourth-grade classes in the system) can be directly compared to a seventh-grade class' relative standing among the total group of seventh-grade classes. Further the city school system's research department has developed a system of grade equivalents for each standard score to make the comparison even more meaningful.

Population From Which These Data Were Collected

The current (1965–66) fourth grade. These children entered first grade in the fall of 1963. The following year the various programs started and the classes included in this study remained relatively stable for the next 2 years (academic years 1964–65 and 1965–66, grades 2 and 3). It was beyond the capacity of this study to identify only those pupils who remained in the classes selected for the full 3 years. Nevertheless, the stability of the classes over the 3-year period was deemed great enough to provide confidence in attributing the trends which are identified to the history of the class rather than changes in the population involved.[5]

Procedure

As already noted above, data were not available on a pupil by pupil basis, but for a total class of a given grade level by school. The original data were in the form of a schoolwide frequency distribution of the Philadelphia standardization of reading achievement scores for each separate administration of a given test.

The frequency distributions for each of the schools were combined within their respective samples to form four, broad-based distributions of reading achievement scores, one for each school category for each test date. Citywide distributions for each administration of the various tests, which included scores of all children in Philadelphia for a given grade level, were directly available from public school officials.

Secondly, all scores were categorized into quartiles (Q1, Q2, Q3, and Q4).

It is important to note that a Q score does not stand for an average or mean reading achievement of any group of children; it is simply a useful way of dividing a series of scores into equal groups of the children making those scores. Thus, a Q1 score says that the lowest-achieving one-fourth of the children in a distribution made this score or below; conversely, three-fourths of the students made a higher score. The Q2 score represents the median score obtained and below which one-half the students fell. The

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[3] Twelve of the 15 EIP schools in this sample were located in 1960 census tracts which indicated median income of 30 percent or more below the city median. The students participating in the busing program were transferred, according to Philadelphia school officials, from these and comparable schools.

[4] For a complete cataloging of the specific tests administered and testing dates, refer to table 7.

[5] See note 1 *supra.* It must be noted, of course, that without records of individual children, it is impossible to weigh this question precisely. The current director of the EIP program, Mrs. Margaret Ephramson, pointed out that while there was very high pupil mobility in these schools, it was not known how the rates compared to those in more advantaged schools. She also noted that students who left an EIP school were very likely to move to another EIP school. (Interview with Mrs. Margaret Ephramson, January 16, 1967.)

Q3 is the score which marks the point above which one-fourth of the students scored and three-fourths fell below.

Finally, the Q scores expressed in the Philadelphia standard form were converted to grade-level equivalents.

Grade-level expectation is the score expressed in grade-level equivalents that is expected of a child who has successfully advanced to a given grade level; the decimal fraction represents the number of months a child has been in school at a particular grade level and is dependent on the date on which a test is given (10 months in the normal school year).

Thus, an achievement test given to second graders during December of the fall term would have a grade-level expectation of 2.4, whereas one administered in June just at matriculation would have a grade-level expectation of 3.0.

Results

Table 1 identifies the 1963 reading achievement levels of the current fourth-grade population in each of the four school categories. It is to be understood that this was at the completion of the first grade and prior to EIP and busing. The EIP median scores were a few months behind the scores of both the non-EIP nearly all-Negro schools and the expected grade equivalents for the city. The Int.-Maj.-W. Negro children were identical to the EIP pupils in reading achievement. The non-EIP sample median for this grade was exactly at grade level in reading, at the end of their first year in school.

The fourth-grade children attending integrated, predominantly Negro schools were a few months ahead of the expected median grade level in reading at the end of their first year of school.

A comparison between the Int.-Maj.-W. Negro pupils and the EIP pupils should reveal the relative effects of integration (without significant changes in compensatory services) versus a high saturation of compensatory programs in a racially isolated context.

For the non-EIP pupils and Int.-Maj.-N. pupils, only a slight difference between their median reading scores exists in favor of the Int.-Maj.-N. pupils. A comparison of these two groups should reveal the relative effects of membership in a nearly all-Negro school versus membership in a majority-Negro integrated school.

Table 2 indicates the median scores (Q2) for all four school categories for each of their respective experiences in grades 1, 2, and 3 (academic years 1963–64, 1964–65, and 1965–66). For all four categories the median scores are further behind the expected grade-level achievement at the third grade than they were at the first grade. This is as true for those groups whose median scores were above grade level (Int.-Maj.-N.), those just at grade level (non-EIP), and those somewhat below grade level (EIP and Int.-Maj.-N.) at the end of the first grade. In all cases the scores of the children in the categories ranged from 3 to 6 months further behind expected grade level at the third grade than at the first grade.

Table 2 shows that this was generally true for those who are in the bottom quarter or top quarter of the distribution of scores for each school category, although the most dramatic loss was among those in the bottom quarter of the EIP group. They were almost 9 months behind at the end of their first year and 16 months behind at the end of their third grade. The top quarter of the children of the EIP schools were reading at grade level or above at the end of the first grade, but at the end of the third grade, this part of the EIP distribution scored about 1 month below grade level. This is the only instance in which the top performers in a group dropped from adequate or high achievement scores to below average scores in the course of 2 years. This suggests, at least, that the compensatory programs offered in the EIP have little effect on either the lowest performing children or on those children who are reading at grade level or above but attending schools with the lowest rates of achievement. These latter children are, of course, those who might ordinarily be expected to maintain normal achievement levels since they had already demonstrated their ability to do so in the first grade. The evidence seems to suggest that continued membership in the EIP schools contributed to their decreasing rate of achievement. In order to evaluate this assertion it is necessary to compare the EIP group with the Int.-Maj.-W. pupils who have essentially the same academic and socio-economic characteristics.

Table 3 indicates that the Int.-Maj.-W. pupils had, at the end of their first grade, the same distribution of scores as the EIP pupils; the highest performing and the lowest performing pupils in both groups were at the same levels at that time. The Int.-Maj.-W.

slipped behind during the course of 2 years, but with no such dramatic drop as found in the EIP schools. The lowest quarter was 8.5 months behind at the end of the first grade and 14 months behind at the end of the third grade. This is 2 months less of a loss than the children in EIP schools. Clearly, though, neither the compensatory programs of EIP nor simple desegregation is adequate to stem the tide of academic deterioration of the lowest scoring groups.

The highest performing group in the Int.-Maj.-W. schools, however, was able to maintain reasonably adequate performance levels, although it too fell off its first-grade pace. At the end of the third grade it was a little more than a month ahead of grade level.

Another way of stating this point is to compare the Int-W. with the non-EIP groups. This latter group is representative of the higher achieving, racially isolated schools in the city, and did not, by virtue of its higher performance, qualify for the EIP. This implies that the school administration was relatively satisfied with the performance of this group of first graders. The 1963 reading achievement scores justify this satisfaction, since the median score of non-EIP pupils was at grade level (table 2) and the spread of scores from low to high was approximately that found in "normally achieving" classes—about 1½ grade levels normally distributed about the median (see table 3). Since the Int.-W. pupils were identical to the EIP pupils at that time and since the EIP pupils were selected because they were behind the non-EIP pupils, it is clear that the Int.-W. pupils were behind the non-EIP pupils when they were both in the first grade.

At the end of the third grade, following 2 years of desegregated experience, the Int.-Maj.-W. group of Negro children had almost the identical scores as those of the non-EIP group. This is accounted for by a dramatic rise in the relative rate of achievement on the part of the pupils in the top quarter of the Int.-Maj.-W. distribution and a slowing down of the rate of growth in the lowest quarter of the non-EIP pupils. Despite their earlier disadvantage, following 2 years of desegregated schooling a group of low-performing Negro children were doing as well as the children attending the better-achieving racially isolated schools. On the other hand, the children attending the nearly all-Negro schools with the lowest rates of achievement had not improved their rates of development (they were losing ground at the greatest rate of all), despite the administration of the large-scale, intensive compensatory program (EIP).

It is not, of course, accurate to assert that the lower-performing racially isolated children cannot be expected to improve their rate of achievement, because such children who were bused to majority white schools did in fact show benefits. It is clear, however, that most of the improvement of the bused children is found in the higher-performing quarter of the distribution. Busing seems to have the greatest effect on the higher-performing children although the lower-performing children tended to show benefits as well.

Summary

The relative impact of the desegregated experiences of the Int.-Maj.-W. Negro children is greatest for the top quarter of students in those schools. Desegregation cannot be considered a universally significant factor in the lives of these children, however, because they did not maintain their position with respect to grade level expectations over the years. The non-EIP schools are completely isolated racially, and the children in those schools show a history almost exactly parallel, albeit at a slightly lower level, to the comparable group in the Int.-Maj.-N. schools. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that desegregation contributes to the maintenance of the level of achievement, particularly for those children (Int.-Maj.-W.) who would have remained in the lowest performing racially isolated schools.

It is in the group of lowest performing children in all the schools in this study that the lack of impact of the EIP and busing programs becomes apparent. Here, children undergoing compensatory programs without desegregation, desegregated programs without special educational programs, or neither of these, are almost indistinguishable over the course of their grade school experience. Apparently, children with serious educational problems need more than either desegregation or compensatory programs. Given the relative value of the desegregated experiences of the other children in this study, it is clear that desegregation is one of the ingredients required for better performance. But special programs are also needed to bring them into the mainstream of educational development. Four general conclusions seem warranted.

1. There is little evidence that the EIP is achieving its goals of raising the reading performance of the children involved. It is associated with little change in the very low levels of performance of those children in the lowest quarter and associated with a very serious retardation in rate of development of the children in the highest quarter of those receiving EIP.

2. There is evidence that children who are from the same economic and educational environment as the EIP children, but who are bused to predominantly white schools, increase their rate of development in reading over time and are significantly better in achievement than the EIP children, despite the fact that both groups were at the same level of reading achievement at the end of the first grade. The benefits of desegregation are most pronounced in the children with higher achievement potential, but are apparent in the lowest achieving group as well.

3. All Negro children in this study are losing ground in school, although those with desegregated experiences are generally losing ground at a slower rate. Those children attending segregated schools but who are at normal levels at the 1st grade, lose ground about as rapidly as those who are in segregated schools but which are low enough in achievement level to warrant special compensatory programs. Clearly, neither high original levels of achievement nor intensive compensatory programs are adequate to the task of saving these children from academic failure.

4. It appears from these data that integration tends to free the potential for educational growth in many children, whereas, segregation tends to restrict that potential. This is most apparent for students with the more readily discernible potential.

B: Madison Area Project—Syracuse, New York

It is apparent that the Syracuse data based on a 3-year longitudinal study covering grades 3, 4, and 5 reveals general trends which replicate the Philadelphia study. Two separate groups are compared: a population ranging from 64 to 93 Negro children attending the racially-isolated Croton Elementary School and a population of 3 grades of Negro children ranging from 82 to 131 attending 6 desegregated elementary schools. The racial makeup of these schools remained relatively stable over the 3-year period (1963–65). All children enrolled in these desegregated schools during the study period lived within the attendance area of their respective schools. Croton children participated in a compensatory program known as the Madison Area Project. This study is an analysis of the relative performance of children attending a single racially isolated school with compensatory programs.

In order to make the comparison of the performance of these groups, it is necessary to indicate that both groups were at about the same level of academic performance at the beginning of the study. Examination of Lorge-Thorndike scores of these two groups indicates essential equivalence between these groups when they were both in their respective third grades (see Table 8). This pattern of equivalence holds for all segments of the frequency distribution.[1]

Table 9 depicts the Stanford reading achievement scores for the two populations in grades 3, 4, and 5. The median scores for grade 3 in 1963–64 for the Croton group and the children attending the six desegregated schools are essentially the same, although the scores of the desegregated children are insignificantly higher. For the top quarter (Q3), however, there is a widening of the gap between the two populations in favor of the desegregated population.

As with the Philadelphia study, there appears to be little difference between the impact of compensatory programs and desegregated experiences for the lowest quarter of students in reading achievement. It also is clear that in all cases Negro children in both of the groups are falling further behind city norms as they progress through the grades with the rate of decline greater among the children attending racially isolated schools than among desegregated schools.

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[1] Though the scores of the desegregated children, group by group, in comparison with the Croton students are generally slightly higher, differences of this amount have little significance for subsequent academic performance. For example, an average difference of 2 points in I.Q. scores as in 90–92 is not regarded as an index of higher ability for the group obtaining the score of 92.

Table 1.—*Philadelphia EIP study: Current 4th grade population reading scores before EIP or busing programs (1963) for all four categories: Q2 (median)*

School year	Grade in that school year	Grade-level expectation	Q2 (median)		
			School category	Grade-level equivalents	Months behind grade-level expectation
1963	1	2. 0	EIP	1. 76	−2. 4
			Non-EIP	2. 02	+0. 2
			Int.-Maj.–N	2. 27	+2. 7
			Int.-Maj.–W	1. 77	−2. 3

Table 2.—*Philadelphia EIP study: Current 4th grade population reading scores for 1963–65 for all four school categories: Q2 (median)*

School year	Grade in that school year	Grade-level expectation	School category	Q2 (median)	
				Grade-level equivalent	Months behind grade-level expectation
1963	1	2. 0	EIP	1. 76	−2. 4
			Non-EIP	2. 02	+2. 2
			Int.-Maj.–N	2. 27	+2. 7
			Int.-Maj.–W	1. 77	−2. 3
1964	2	3. 0	EIP	2. 60	−4. 0
			Non-EIP	2. 86	−1. 4
			Int.-Maj.–N	3. 12	+1. 2
			Int.-Maj.–W	2. 64	−3. 6
1965	3	3. 5	EIP	2. 66	−8. 4
			Non-EIP	2. 97	−5. 3
			Int.-Maj.–N	3. 14	−3. 6
			Int.-Maj.–W	2. 96	−5. 4

Table 3.—*Philadelphia EIP Study: Current 4th grade population reading scores for 1963-65 for all 4 school categories: Q1 and Q3*

School year	Grade in that school year	Grade level expectation	School category	Q1		Q3	
				Grade level equivalents	Months behind grade level expectation	Grade level equivalents	Months behind grade level expectation
1963	1	2. 0	EIP	1. 10	−9. 0	2. 47	+4. 7
			Non-EIP	1. 24	−7. 6	2. 80	+8. 0
			Int.-Maj.–N	1. 42	−5. 8	3. 10	+10. 0
			Int.-Maj.–W	1. 14	−8. 6	2. 44	+4. 4
1964	2	3. 0	EIP	1. 83	−11. 7	3. 38	+3. 8
			Non-EIP	2. 02	−9. 8	3. 62	+6. 2
			Int.-Maj.–N	2. 66	−3. 4	3. 62	+6. 2
			Int.-Maj.–W	1. 78	−12. 2	3. 48	+4. 8
1965	3	3. 5	EIP	1. 89	−16. 1	3. 38	−1. 1
			Non-EIP	2. 08	−14. 2	3. 65	+1. 5
			Int.-Maj.–N	3. 00	−5. 0	3. 71	+2. 1
			Int.-Maj.–W	2. 08	−14. 2	3. 62	+1. 2

TABLE 4.—*Philadelphia EIP study: Current 4th-grade populations' reading scores for 1963–65 for all four categories: Q2 (median)*

School year	Grade in that school year	Grade level expectation	School category	Q2 (median) grade level equivalents
1963	1	2.0	EIP	1.76
			Non-EIP	2.02
			Int.-Maj.–N	2.27
			Int.-Maj.–W	1.77
			Citywide median	2.209
1964	2	3.0	EIP	2.605
			Non-EIP	2.855
			Int.-Maj.–N	3.115
			Int.-Maj.–W	2.64
			Citywide median	2.594
1965	3	3.5	EIP	2.655
			Non–EIP	2.97
			Int.-Maj.–N	3.145
			Int.-Maj.–W	2.955
			Citywide median	3.184

TABLE 5.—*Philadelphia EIP study: Current 4th-grade populations' reading scores for 1963–65 for all four categories: Q1*

School year	Grade in that school year	Grade-level expectation	School category	Q1 grade-level equivalents
1963	1	2.0	EIP	1.095
			Non-EIP	1.235
			Int.-Maj.–N	1.415
			Int.-Maj.–W	1.14
			Citywide median	2.209
1964	2	3.0	EIP	1.83
			Non-EIP	2.025
			Int.-Maj.–N	2.655
			Int.-Maj.–W	1.78
			Citywide median	2.594
1965	3	3.5	EIP	1.89
			Non-EIP	2.075
			Int.-Maj.–N	2.995
			Int.-Maj.–W	2.075
			Citywide median	3.184

TABLE 6.—*Philadelphia EIP study: Current 4th-grade populations' reading scores for 1963–65 for all 4 categories: Q3*

School year	Grade in that school year	Grade-level expectation	School category	Q3 grade-level equivalents
1963	1	2. 0	EIP	2. 47
			Non-EIP	2. 80
			Int.-Maj.–N	3. 095
			Int.-Maj.–W	2. 44
			Citywide median	2. 209
1964	2	3. 0	EIP	3. 375
			Non-EIP	3. 625
			Int.-Maj.–N	3. 625
			Int.-Maj.–W	3. 48
			Citywide median	2. 594
1965	3	3. 5	EIP	3. 385
			Non-EIP	3. 65
			Int.-Maj.–N	3. 71
			Int.-Maj.–W	3. 615
			Citywide median	3. 184

TABLE 7.—*Philadelphia EIP study: Description of sample, tests, testing schedule, and reading achievement scores in grade-level equivalents*

School year	Grade in that school year	Name of test	Test date	Grade level expectation	Program experience	School category	Number of cases	Test scores			
								Q1	Q2 (median)	Q3	Q value
1963	1st	Philadelphia reading—Form A.	6–64	2.0	Before both EIP or busing started.	EIP	2, 545	1.10	1.76	2.47	1.38
						Non-EIP	1, 945	1.24	2.02	2.80	1.57
	2d					Int.-Maj.-N	195	1.42	2.27	3.10	1.68
						Int.-Maj.-W	194	1.14	1.77	2.44	1.30
1964						Citywide total	22, 105	------	2.21	------	------
		Metropolitan reading primary, II–C.	6–65	3.0	1st year in EIP or busing.	EIP	2, 400	1.83	2.61	3.38	1.55
						Non-EIP	1, 791	2.03	2.86	3.63	1.60
	3d					Int.-Maj.-N	131	2.66	3.16	3.63	0.97
						Int.-Maj.-W	176	1.78	2.64	3.48	1.70
1965						Citywide total	21, 201	------	2.59	------	------
		Philadelphia reading—Form D.	1–66	3.5	2d year in EIP or busing.	EIP	2, 451	1.89	2.66	3.39	1.50
						Non-EIP	1, 703	2.08	2.97	3.65	1.58
						Int.-Maj.-N	275	3.00	3.15	3.71	1.22
						Int.-Maj.-W	427	2.08	2.96	3.62	1.54
						Citywide total	22, 024	------	3.18	------	------

TABLE 8.—*Syracuse MAP study: Lorge-Thorndike (intelligence) scores for 1963–65 for Croton School (compensatory education) and 6 desegregated majority-white schools (stable racial composition): Q1, Q2 (median), and Q3*

School year	Grade in that school year	School category	Sample size	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q value
1963	3	Croton	130	81. 253	90. 143	98. 071	16. 818
		Int.-Maj.-W	113	83. 562	92. 500	101. 876	18. 314
1964	4	Croton	140	82. 401	89. 144	96. 801	14. 400
		Int.-Maj.-W	165	82. 781	90. 082	100. 344	17. 563
1965	5	Croton	134	81. 248	92. 600	98. 929	17. 631
		Int.-Maj.-W	195	81. 958	90. 928	100. 561	18. 603

Table 9.—*Syracuse MAP study: Standford reading achievement scores for 1963–65 for Croton School (compensatory education) and 6 desegregated majority-white schools (stable racial composition): Q1, Q2 (median), and Q3*

School year	Grade level	School category	Q1	Median Q2	Q3	Q value
1963	3	Croton	2.000	2.412	2.775	0.775
		6 desegregated	2.125	2.500	2.850	.725
		Citywide		3.0		
1964	4	Croton	2.750	3.267	3.850	1.100
		6 desegregated	2.875	3.464	4.121	1.246
		Citywide		4.5		
1965	5	Croton	3.245	3.606	4.192	.947
		6 desegregated	3.025	3.819	4.475	1.450
		Citywide		5.2		

Appendix D 2

WORKING PAPERS

The following working papers were prepared at the request of the Commission. Since many of the remedial measures for racial isolation in larger cities are still in the planning stage, it was decided to secure the views of experienced educators on these plans and proposals.

Appendix D 2.1

THE SCHOOL PARK

(This paper was prepared for the Commission by John H. Fischer, President, Teachers College, Columbia University.)

Of all the plans that have been put forward for integrating urban schools the boldest is the school park. This is a scheme under which several thousand ghetto children and a larger number from middle-class white neighborhoods would be assembled in a group of schools sharing a single campus. Placing two or more schools on one site is not a new idea, but two other aspects of the school park are novel. It would be the largest educational institution ever established below the collegiate level and the first planned explicitly to cultivate racial integration as an element of good education.

A small community might house its entire school system in one such complex. A large city with one or more large ghettos would require several. In the most imaginative and difficult form of the proposal a central city and its neighboring suburban districts would jointly sponsor a ring of metropolitan school parks on the periphery of the city.[1]

The characteristic features of the school park—comprehensive coverage and unprecedented size—are its main advantages and at the same time the chief targets of its critics. Is the park a defensible modern version of the common school, perhaps the only form in which that traditionally American institution can be maintained in an urban society? Or is it a monstrous device that can lead only to the mass mistreatment of children? Whatever else it is or may in time turn out to be, it is neither a modest proposal nor a panacea.

Since even one such project would require a substantial commitment of policy and money, it is obvious that the validity of the concept should be closely examined and the costs and potential benefits associated with it carefully appraised.

The purpose of this paper is to assist that process by considering the relevance of the school park to present problems in urban education and by analyzing, although in a necessarily limited way, its potentiality.

The Problem

Twelve years of effort, some ingeniously pro forma and some laboriously genuine, have proved that desegregating schools—to say nothing of integrating them—is much more difficult than it first appeared. Attendance area boundaries have been redrawn; new schools have been built in border areas; parents have been permitted, even encouraged, to choose more desirable schools for their children; pupils from crowded slum schools have been bused to outlying schools; Negro and white schools have been paired and their student bodies merged; but in few cases have the results been wholly satisfactory. Despite some initial success and a few stable solutions, the consequences, for the most part, have proved disappointing. Steady increases in urban Negro population, continuing shifts in the racial character of neighborhoods, actual or supposed decline in student achievement, unhappiness over cultural differences and unpleasant personal relations have combined to produce new problems faster than old ones could be solved.[2]

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[1] Thomas B. Pettigrew, "School Desegregation in Urban America," unpublished paper prepared for NAACP Legal Conference on School Desegregation, October 1966, pp. 25–33.

Underlying the whole situation are basic facts that have too seldom been given the attention they merit. Some of these facts bear on the behavior of individuals. Few parents of either race, for example, are willing to accept inconvenience or to make new adjustments in family routines if the only discernible result is to improve the opportunities of other people's children. A still smaller minority will actually forego advantages to which their children have become accustomed merely to benefit other children. Most parents, liberal or conservative, hesitate to accept any substantial change in school procedures unless they are convinced that their own children will have a better than even chance of profiting from them. While prejudice and bigotry are not to be minimized as obstacles to racial integration, resistance attributed to them is often due rather to the reluctance of parents to risk a reduction in their own children's opportunities.

Nor, in some cases, have community characteristics and population movement been well enough considered. The steady and continuing expansion of ghettos is clearly evident in almost every central city, yet one desegregation plan after another proposes to build new schools on the obviously temporary borders between white and Negro communities or to pair adjacent existing schools in the vain hope of retaining well-balanced student bodies. Even the most superficial glance at occupancy patterns would reveal that only massive changes in housing, migration, or birth rates could possibly prevent early resegregation of the schools involved.

The controversy over what constitutes viable racial balance in schools or neighborhoods remains unsettled, for the data are far from complete. There is abundant evidence, however, that few middle-class families, Negro or white, will choose schools enrolling a majority of Negro children if any alternative is available. Additional complications arise from social class and cultural relationships. Although borderline sites or school pairing on the periphery of a ghetto may produce temporary racial desegregation, these devices rarely bring together children of different social classes. As a consequence, the predictable antagonisms between lower class white and Negro groups increase the school's burden of adjustment problems and diminish the benefits of cultural interchange.

If the main shortcoming of these efforts were that they produced temporary rather than permanent solutions, the consequences would at least be tolerable. The first short-term program might give way to another, even if it, too, proved to be of only passing usefulness. But these failures not only retard progress; they undermine it. Each time a desegregated school becomes resegregated, the ensuing disappointment and bitterness exacerbate the original condition. Whatever the cause of the reversion, the fact of failure is clear. The discouraging sense that desegregation "won't work" leads to the conclusion that the ghetto child's only hope lies in improving his segregated school. For the immediate future this may, indeed, be the only course open in some situations. But for the long run, neither school management nor public policy can be based on any assumption so completely contrary to the principles of an open society.

The moral and legal grounds for desegregating schools are clear and well established. The factual evidence that integration can improve the effectiveness of education is steadily accumulating.[3] For the purposes of this paper there is no need to review either. But it will be useful to examine what is now known about the conditions that must be met if schools are to be well integrated and effective.

The first requirement is that the proportion of each race in the school be acceptable and educationally beneficial to both groups.[4] This means that the proportion of white students must be high enough to keep them and, more importantly, their parents from feeling overwhelmed and to assure the Negro student the advantage of a genuinely integrated environment. On the other hand, the number of Negro students must be large enough to prevent their becoming an odd and isolated minority in a nominally desegregated school. Their percentage should enable them to appear as a matter of course in all phases of school life. No Negro student should have to "represent his race" in any different sense than his white classmates represent theirs.

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[2] Jeanette Hopkins, "Self Portrait of School Desegregation in Northern Cities," unpublished paper prepared for NAACP Legal Conference, October 1966, pp. 1–3.

[3] James S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, p. 332.

[4] Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Many efforts have been made to define a racially balanced school, but no "balance," however logical it may be statistically, is likely to remain stable and workable if it results in either a majority of Negroes, or so few that they are individually conspicuous. This suggests in practice a Negro component ranging from a minimum of 15 to 20 percent to a maximum of 40 to 45 percent.

School districts with small Negro minorities, even though they may be concentrated in ghettos, can ordinarily devise plans to meet these conditions without large scale changes in the character of their school systems. Central cities with sizable ghettos and smaller cities with larger proportions of Negroes will usually be required to make substantial changes in order to attain integrated schools.

But even when such acceptable racial proportions have been established, an effectively integrated school can be maintained only if a second condition is met: The school must respond to the educational needs of all its students better than the schools they might otherwise attend. The school must possess the capacity, the physical facilities, the staff strength, the leadership, and the flexibility required not only to offer a wide range of programs and services, but also adapt them to the special circumstances of individual students.

The Park as a Possible Solution

In school districts where redistricting, pairing, open enrollment, and busing offer little hope of producing lasting integration and high quality school programs, the school park may well offer a satisfactory solution. School parks (called also education parks, plazas, or centers) have been proposed in a number of communities and are being planned in several. The schemes so far advanced fall into several categories. The simplest, which is appropriate for a small or medium-sized town, assembles on a single campus all the schools and all the students of an entire community. As a result the racial character of a particular neighborhood no longer determines the character of any one school. All the children of the community come to the central campus where they can be assigned to schools and classes according to whatever criteria will produce the greatest educational benefits. The School Board of East Orange, N.J., has recently announced a 15-year construction program to consolidate its school system of some 10,000 pupils in such an educational plaza.[5]

Another variant of the park is a similarly comprehensive organization serving one section of a large city as the single park might serve an entire smaller town. Where this plan is adopted the capacity of the park must be so calculated that its attendance area will be sufficiently large and diversified to yield a racially balanced student body for the foreseeable future. Merely to assemble two or three elementary units, a junior high school and a senior high school would in many cities produce no more integration than constructing the same buildings on the customary separate sites.

Less comprehensive schemes can also be called school parks. One, applicable to smaller communities, would center all school facilities for a single level of education—e.g., all elementary schools, or middle schools, or high schools, on a single site. Single-level complexes serving less than a whole community are also possible in large cities. The 1964 Allen Report for New York City proposed middle school parks to enroll 15,000 pupils each and to be located where they would assure as many children as possible experience in well-integrated schools.[6]

In its 1966 study of the Pittsburgh schools, the Harvard Graduate School of Education proposed that all high school programs be housed in five new education centers, each to be located where it will serve a racially balanced student body for the foreseeable future.[7]

A fourth, and the most comprehensive, type of park would require a number of changes in school planning and administration. This is the metropolitan school park

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[5] "Desegregation. Ten Blueprints for Action," *School Management*, vol. 10, No. 10, October 1966, pp. 103–105.

[6] State Education Commission's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions, *Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City*, 1964, New York State Department of Education, p. 18.

[7] Center for Field Studies, Harvard Graduate School of Education; *Education for Pittsburgh*, Cambridge, 1966, p. 25.

designed to meet the increasingly serious problems posed by the growing Negro population of the central cities and the almost wholly white suburbs that surround them. The proposal, briefly stated, is to ring the city with school parks that would enroll the full range of pupils from the kindergarten to the high school and possibly including a community college. Each park would be placed in a "neutral" area near the periphery of the city. Each attendance area would approximate a segment of the metropolitan circle with its apex at the center of the city and its base in the suburbs. Since many students would arrive by school bus or public carrier, each site would be adjacent to a main transport route.[8]

The potentialities of school parks in general can be explored by projecting what might be done in such a metropolitan center. We can begin with certain assumptions about size and character. In order to encompass an attendance area large enough to assure for the long term an enrollment more than 50 percent white and still include a significant number of Negro students from the inner-city ghetto, the typical park, in most metropolitan areas, would require a total student body (kindergarten to Grade 12) of not less than 15,000. It would thus provide all the school facilities for a part of the metropolitan area with a total population of 80,000 to 120,000. The exact optimum size of a particular park might be as high as 30,000, depending upon the density of urban and suburban population, the prevalence of nonpublic schools, the pattern of industrial, business, and residential zoning, the character of the housing, and the availability of transport.

The site, ideally, would consist of 50 to 100 acres but a workable park could be designed on a much smaller area or, under suitable circumstances, deep within the central city by using high-rise structures.[9] Within these buildings individual school units of varying sizes would be dispersed horizontally and vertically. On a more generous plot each unit could be housed separately, with suitable provision for communication through tunnels or covered passages.

The sheer size of the establishment would present obvious opportunities to economize through centralized functions and facilities, but the hazards of over-centralization are formidable. To proceed too quickly or too far down that path would be to sacrifice many of the park's most valuable opportunities for better education.

Because of its size the park would make possible degrees of specialization, concentration, and flexibility that are obtainable only at exorbitant cost in smaller schools. A center enrolling 16,000 students in a kindergarten—4–4–4 organization, with 1,000–1,300 pupils at each grade level, could efficiently support and staff not only a wide variety of programs for children at every ordinary level of ability, but also highly specialized offerings for those with unusual talents or handicaps.

Superior libraries could be maintained, with strong centralized and decentralized collections of books, tapes, discs, films, and a rich combination of services for every unit in the park.

Such an institution could operate its own closed circuit television system more effectively, and with lower cable costs than a community-wide system, and with greater attention to the individual teacher's requirements. A central bank of films and tapes could be available for transmission to any classroom, and the whole system controlled by a dialing mechanism that would enable every teacher to "order" at any time whatever item he wished his class to see. Other forms of information storage and retrieval could readily be provided for instruction, administration, or teacher education.

The pupil population would be large enough to justify full-time staffs of specialists and the necessary physical facilities to furnish medical, psychological, and counseling services at a level of quality that is now rarely possible. Food service could be provided through central kitchens, short distance delivery, and decentralized dining rooms for the separate schools.

The most important educational consequences of the park's unprecedented size would be the real opportunities it would offer for organizing teachers, auxiliary staff, and students. In the hypothetical K—4–4–4 park of 16,000, for example, there would be about 5,000 pupils each in the primary and middle school age groups, or enough at each level for 10 separate schools of 500 pupils.

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[8] Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–33.

[9] Harold B. Gores, "Education Park; Physical and Fiscal Aspects," in Milton Jacobson (Ed) *An Exploration of the Educational Park Concept,* New York, New York Board of Education, 1964, pp. 2–7.

Each primary or middle school of that size could be housed in its own building, or its own section of a larger structure with its own faculty of perhaps 25. Such a unit, directed by its own principal, with its own complement of master teachers, "regular" teachers, interns, assistants, and volunteers, would be the school "home" of each of its pupils for the 3, 4, or 5 years he would spend in it before moving on to the next level of the park. A permanent organization of children and adults of that size employing flexible grouping procedures would make possible working relationships far superior to those now found in most schools. Moreover, since a child whose family moved from one home to another within the large area served by the park would not be required to change schools, one of the principal present handicaps to effective learning in city schools would be largely eliminated.

While not every school within the park could offer every specialized curriculum or service, such facilities could be provided in as many units as necessary and children assigned to them temporarily or permanently. Each child and each teacher would "belong" to his own unit, but access to others would be readily possible at any time.

The presence on a single campus of all school levels and a wide range of administrative and auxiliary services would present the professional staff with opportunities for personal development and advancement which no single school now affords. The ease of communication, for example, among the guidance specialists or mathematics teachers would exceed anything now possible. It would become feasible to organize for each subject or professional speciality a department in which teachers in all parts of the park could hold membership, in much the way that a university department includes professors from a number of colleges.

For the first time, a field unit could justify its own research and development branch, a thing not only unheard of but almost unimaginable in most schools today. With such help "in residence" the faculty of the park could participate in studies of teaching problems and conduct experiments that now are wholly impracticable for even the most competent teachers.

Much would depend, of course, on the imagination with which the park was organized and administered and how its policies were formed. Since the metropolitan park, by definition, would serve both a central city and one or more suburban districts, its very establishment would be impossible without new forms of intergovernmental cooperation. At least two local school boards would have to share authority, staffs, and funds. The State educational authority and perhaps the legislature would be required to sanction the scheme and might have to authorize it in advance. Public opinion and political interests would be deeply involved as would the industrial and real estate establishments of the sponsoring communities.

The planning of a metropolitan park would have to be viewed as a concern not merely of school people, parents, and legislative or executive officials. It would have to be approached from the outset as a fundamental problem in metropolitan planning. Its dependence on quantitative projections of population and housing data is obvious, but equally important is its relation to the character of the housing, occupancy policies, and ethnic concentrations. To build a park only to have it engulfed in a few years by an enlarged ghetto would be a sorry waste of both money and opportunity. No good purpose, educational or social, would be served by creating what might become a huge segregated school enclave. A school park can be undertaken responsibly only as part of a comprehensive metropolitan development plan. Where such planning is not feasible, the establishment of a metropolitan school park would be a questionable venture.

It may be reasonable in some circumstances to project a park within the limits of a single school district. Where the analysis of population trends and projected development justify a single district park, the intergovernmental problems disappear, but agreements within the municipal structure will still be important and may be quite difficult to negotiate. The need for comprehensive community planning to assure the future viability of the park is certainly no less necessary within the city than in the metropolitan area.

Once the park is authorized, the question of operating responsibility must be addressed. In a sense that no individual school or geographic subdivision possibly can, the school park permits decentralized policy development and administration. Because of the natural coherence of the park's components and their relative separation from the rest of the district—or districts—to which it is related, the park might very well be organized as a largely self-contained system. The argument for placing the park under a board with considerable autonomy is strong whether it is a metropolitan institution or a one-city enterprise. For the first time it could thus become possible for the citizens in a section of a larger community to have a direct, effective voice in the affairs of a school serving their area. Such details as the size of the board, length of terms, and method of selection would best be determined in each case according to local needs, but with full readiness to devise new statutes in order to take maximum advantage of the new opportunity.

Citizen participation would have to occur at points other than the board, however. If the park is to be strongly related to its communities, and integrated in fact as well as in principle, parents and other citizens would have to be involved, formally and informally, in many of its activities. These might range from parent-teacher conferences to service on major curriculum advisory groups. They could include routine volunteer chores and service as special consultants or part-time teachers. The specific possibilities are unlimited but the tone of the relationships will critically affect the park's success.

Because of it size, diversity, and compactness the park will present possibilities—and problems—in internal organization and administration that have not been encountered before. If the management of these new institutions only replicates the forms, procedures, and errors of present school bureaucracies the battle for a fresh approach to universal education could be lost before it began. Plans can and should be designed to make the most productive use of the central resources of the park as a whole while at the same time taking maximum advantage of the diversity among its component units. Any community or metropolitan area contemplating a park would do well not only to select its administrative and supervisory staff with great care but to assemble it a semester or even a full year before students are admitted in order to plan the working arrangements.

Obtaining the necessary cooperation to build a metropolitan park will not be easy but the financial problems will be equally severe. A park accommodating 16,000 pupils can be expected to cost in the neighborhood of $50 million. The financial pressures on cities and suburban districts make it clear that Federal support on a very large scale will be required if school parks are to be built. But it is precisely the possibility of Federal funding that could provide the incentive to bring the suburbs and the central city together.

While categorical support through Federal funds will continue to be needed, effective leverage on the massive problems of urban education, including, particularly, integration, can be obtained only through broadly focused programs of general aid, with special attention given to new construction. Little can be done toward equalizing opportunities without a sizable program of school building expansion and replacement. Such aid, moreover, must be available for both the neglected child and the relatively advantaged.

If much of this new assistance were expressly channeled into creating metropolitan parks, on a formula of 90 percent Federal and 10 percent State and local funding, it would envision equalized, integrated schools of high quality in most cities within a period of 10 to 15 years.

Would such a program mean abandoning usable existing school buildings? Not at all, since most school districts desperately need more space for their present and predictable enrollment, to say nothing of the other uses that school systems and other government agencies could readily find for buildings that might be relinquished. The impending expansion of nursery school programs and adult education are only two of the more obvious alternate uses for in-city structures.

Is the school park an all-or-nothing question? Is it necessary to abandon all existing programs before the benefits of the park can be tested? Short of full commitment, there are steps that can be taken in the direction of establishing parks and to achieve some of their values. The "educational complex" put forward in the Allen Report for New York City is one such step. As described in that report, the complex is a group of two to five primary schools and one or two middle schools near enough to each other to form a cooperating cluster and serving sufficiently diversified neighborhoods to promote good biracial contact.

> An educational complex should be administered by a *senior administrator*, who should be given authority and autonomy to develop a program which meets appropriate citywide standards but is also directly relevant to the needs of the locality. Primary schools within the complex should share among themselves facilities, faculties, and special staff, and should be coordinated to encourage frequent associ-

> ation among students and parents from the several units. Within the education complex teachers will be better able to help children from diverse ethnic backgrounds to become acquainted with one another. Parent-teacher and parent-school relations should be built on the bases of both the individual school and the complex. The children—and their parents—will thus gain the dual benefits of a school close to home and of membership in a larger, more diverse educational and social community. The concept of the educational complex arises in part from the view that the means of education and much of their control should be centered locally.
>
> Although it may not be possible to desegregate all primary schools, ultimately most of them should be integrated educationally. This will aid the better preparation of students for life and study in the middle school; it will more nearly equalize resources; and it will give the staff in the primary schools new opportunities for innovation and originality in their work.[10]

Experimental projects on a limited scale might also be set up between city and suburban districts to deal with common problems. The Hartford and Irondequoit projects transporting Negro students to suburban schools are examples of what can be done.

Additional efforts could include exchanging staff members; involving students, particularly at the secondary level, in joint curricular or extracurricular activities; setting up "miniature school parks" during the summer in schools on the city-suburban border; conducting work sessions in which board and staff members from metropolitan school systems examine population changes, common curriculum problems, and opportunities for joint action.

Establishing school parks would mean a substantial shift in educational policy. In addition, as has been pointed out, the metropolitan park would require concerted action among governmental units. New forms of State and Federal financial support and sharply increased appropriations would be essential. In some cases teacher certification procedures would have to be altered and administrative routines adapted to tasks never before attempted. New forms of school architecture would have to be devised and more extensive transportation services instituted. In brief, a number of quite sweeping reforms would have to be accomplished. Parents and other citizens, school leaders, public officials and legislators will be justified in asking for persuasive factual and logical support for such radical proposals.

The response must be that critically important educational, social, and economic needs of a large part of urban America are not being met by our present policies and practices and that there is no reason to think that they will be met by minor adjustments of the present arrangements. The evidence is irresistible that the consequences of racial segregation are so costly and so damaging to all our people that they should no longer be tolerated. Through bitter experience we are learning that the isolation of any race is demeaning when it is deliberate and that it is counterproductive in human and economic terms, no matter how it is caused or explained. The elimination of this debilitating and degrading aspect of American life must now be ranked among the most important and urgent goals of our society. The task cannot be done without concerted action among many forces and agencies. Participation by private agencies and by government at every level will be needed. But central to every other effort will be the influence and the power of the public schools. Those schools, which have served the Nation so well in achieving other high purposes, can serve equally well in performing their part of this new undertaking—if the magnitude of the task is fully appreciated and action undertaken on a scale appropriate to a major national purpose.

The steps that have heretofore been taken to cope with segregation have been of no more than tactical dimensions. Most of them have been relatively minor adaptations and accommodations requiring minimal changes in the status quo. It should by now be clear that we cannot integrate our schools or assure all our children access to the best education unless we accept these twin goals as prime strategic objectives.

Responding to commitments of comparable significance at other stages in our history as a Nation, we built tens of thousands of common schools; spanned the Continent with a network of agricultural and mechanical colleges; devised systems of vocational education in every State; and, most recently, set in motion a spectacular expansion of scientific research and development.

Establishing rings of school parks about each of our segregated central cities would, to be sure, require decisions to invest large sums of money in these projects. The prior and more important commitment, however, must be to the purpose to which the money will be dedicated: effective equality of educational opportunity at a new high level for millions of our young people.

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[10] State Education Commission's Advisory Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

The school park is no panacea. In itself it will guarantee no more than a setting for new accomplishment. But the setting is essential. If we fail to provide it or to invent an equally promising alternative, we shall continue to deny a high proportion of our citizens the indispensable means to a decent and productive life.

Appendix D 2.2

DESEGREGATING THE INTEGRATED SCHOOL

(This paper was prepared for the Commission by John I. Goodlad, University of California at Los Angeles, and the Institute for Development of Educational Activities.)

I

Segregation is and has been the condition of America's schools, more in the 20th than in the 19th century. Segregation by race or religion is obvious and parallels poverty as the most visible social, political, and educational domestic issue of our time. It is the issue that makes or breaks today's big-city school superintendent. Nonetheless, the progress now being made toward integration of Negro and Caucasian boys and girls in our schools, halting and troubled though it may be, surpasses our most optimistic predictions of a decade ago.

But this integration of the races is taking place in a segregated school milieu. Most men and women over 40 recall a childhood schooling in which the sons and daughters of mill owners, shop proprietors, professional men, and day laborers attended side by side. School boundaries, reaching out into fields and hills to embrace the pupil population, transcended such socioeconomic clusterings as existed. Population growth and urbanization, accompanied by the flight to the suburbs, changed all that. A large proportion of the population lives today in ghettos. Race remains, indeed, a shameful criterion for separation. But the more subtle factors of class distinction separate Negro from Negro and Caucasian from Caucasian within the larger cloth of black and white demarcation.[1]

A plan designed initially to alleviate *de facto* racial segregation is designed also to alleviate some of our *de facto* socioeconomic class segregation. This is the "educational park." In brief, the educational park is a modern version of the community school, serving a wider range of functions and a longer day of more varied activities than characterize the conventional 9:00 to 3:00 schoolhouse. Ideally, it both caters to the cultural and recreational interests of entire families and dispatches its academic responsibilities to the school-age population. Strategically located so as to cut across both racial and socioeconomic ghettos and former school boundaries, the educational park offers potentiality for the kind of population mix that uncontrolled progress appeared to be rendering obsolete. Of course, to anticipate a fully integrated social invention is to expect what is not likely to be.

And to assume that a thorough mixing of racial, ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic groups in schools or educational parks will provide equal educational opportunity for all the children of all the people is to be deceived. Certain conceptions of school function, expectations for learners, and school practices—particularly placing and grading pupils—that have long characterized our formal educational enterprise segregate and stereotype boys and girls within otherwise integrated schools.

The need to eliminate discriminatory policies and practices within our schools will be with us long after the most serious barriers to racial and socioeconomic integration are removed. They were with us in the village schoolhouses many adults once knew. They will be with us in the educational parks we plan to create. Desegregating integrated schools is the most difficult challenge along the road to equalizing educational opportunity, partly because the problems are so pervasive and partly because agreement on neither goals nor methods will be easily achieved.

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[1] For one of the best analyses of this condition in print, see Bruno Bettelheim, "Segregation: New Style," *School Review*, 66 (Autumn 1958), 251–72.

The central question for years to come is not whether there should be an educated elite, although that question is bound to get the star's share of the spotlight. Rather, it is how to assure equal opportunity to acquire whatever human attributes are needed by each individual for his pursuit of and contribution to the good life.

II

We now know that the most rapid period for the development of human characteristics is in the first few years of life.[2] We know, too, that significant gains on measures of general intellectual functioning are achieved by children whose mothers are exposed to a program of cognitive stimulation and skill development in child rearing. In general gains are nonreversible. That is, the attainment in a given characteristic at age 6, for example, includes what had been attained by age 5 plus the increment achieved between ages 5 and 6. There is, of course, a loss of specific learnings with the passage of time.

The challenge to education—whether in the school, the home, or the larger community—is to produce the maximum increment for each interval of time. We want each child, whatever his genesis, to have optimum subsequent opportunity to achieve his potential, realizing full well that ultimate attainment depends on the circumstances of both his birth and his environment. Currently popular principles of education reject the theory of simple unfolding of the human organism, or at least support the notion that unfolding can be aided by environmental intervention.[3]

Perhaps the most dramatic instance of broad-scale environmental intervention is the provision of nursery schools in Israel for the so-called Oriental Jew. The parallel in the United States—launched hurriedly and lacking much of the theoretical underpinnings and evaluative structure of the Israeli program—is Head Start. Both are designed to produce near-optimal growth, especially in cognitive and language development, during the period immediately preceding entry into formal schooling. The very name of the latter implies the intent: to get a head start on school.

The Israeli experience suggests that the children enrolled in the nursery school program did, indeed, make gains over and above those predicted for them without such exposure. On the discouraging side, however, the followup of these children in school suggests that they did not make near-optimal growth during subsequent time intervals. There was a cumulative deficiency by the end of the second and third grades.

The hard data on Head Start are not yet in; however, some of the informally-gathered data are encouraging, although we suspect that the experience was not sufficiently sustained. But the deeper concern is that Head Start will prove to have been but a palliative for the children affected.[4] Children from harsh environments, when in school, will lag behind their environmentally advantaged counterparts—whether or not exposed earlier to Head Start.

There is the obvious reason. The environmental circumstances inhibiting optimal cognitive and language development are not fundamentally affected by Head Start. They persist to detract from what should be the stimulating effects of school. This fact is profoundly discouraging to educators who cannot be expected to change these conditions in significant ways.

But there is also, in my judgment, a much more subtle reason. Traditionally, schools have not been markedly counter-cyclical to the conditions of their surrounding environments. In fact, they have tended to reinforce the conditions brought into the schools by the pupils. This was true of the village schoolhouse. It is true of the urban or suburban ghetto. It will be true of the educational park, unless we are more aware and more imaginative than we have been in the past.

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[2] For a comprehensive summary and analysis of the research, see Benjamin S. Bloom, *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.

[3] There is growing support for the possibilities of chemical intervention but these are, at present, too controversial and too little supported by prolonged experimentation to enter significantly into public policy. See Barry Commoner and others, "The Elusive Code of Life," *Saturday Review* (Oct. 1, 1966), 71–79.

[4] In the long run, the significance of Head Start may prove to have been symbolic. It alerted us dramatically to our long-standing delinquency regarding the welfare of substantial numbers of our children.

III

The one thing that schools are authorized to do something about is their own programs. The fact that children often come to them grossly undernourished both physically and mentally is most unfortunate. But it is a fact—a fact that cannot be rolled back and that must not be ignored. (Even if schools were to extend their scope downward to include all four-year-olds, there would still be the facts of gross differences in "readiness" for school to be reckoned with.) Similarly, the fact that the circumstances of deprivation prevail, often throughout children's school lives, also is most unfortunate. But this, too, is a fact that can be neither rolled back nor ignored. The crucial question is, "Given these facts, how should schools take account of them in *planning and conducting their programs*?"

I have said that schools are not markedly countercyclical; that they tend too much to reinforce rather than offset environmental distortions or emphases. I have said, further, that certain conceptions of school function, expectations for learners, and school practices tend to segregate and stereotype boys and girls even within otherwise integrated schools. Such statements demand clarification and documentation.

Our expectations for schooling are, in general, coverage of a predetermined body of material by all students within a specified period of time, usually a year and a grade.[5] Coverage, therefore, becomes the function of schooling. Commonly, we protest otherwise but practices all too frequently belie our protestations.

The functions of schooling must be two-fold: possessing and shaping the culture and living effectively and satisfyingly within that culture. Efforts to fulfill such functions through *coverage* of content are anachronistic.

Further, common expectations for all students deny human realities. Children come to school from markedly different backgrounds, with widely varying levels of attainment and with striking differences in their readiness to proceed. These environmental conditions tend to persist; levels of attainment tend to become more varied as pupils proceed through school; [6] and a class group at any given time reveals gross differences in the readiness of individuals within that group to proceed with a specified learning.

The grade levels and graded expectations that have characterized the conduct of American education for more than 100 years appear to be out of phase with today's conceptions of school function and the growing body of evidence about individual differences among children.

Efforts to make the graded system work have met with continual frustration. When it was fully realized that children do not and cannot complete the same work in the same period of time, the adjustment mechanism used was and is nonpromotion. Subsequent research revealed that nonpromoted children, when compared with promoted children of equal past performance and measured intelligence, perform at a somewhat lower academic level, decline in their social relations with other children and in their self-image, and lose interest in school.[7]

Nonpromotion, then, does not advance general intellectual performance, academic attainment, or individual self-respect. In time, it results in an accumulated backlog of generally undiagnosed learning problems; sixth grade academic achievement is lower in schools with high rates of nonpromotion than in schools with low rates of retention.[8] Nonpromotion—the major device employed to adjust the inadequacies of our graded school system—does more to segregate and stereotype slow learning children (and ultimately to force them out of school) than it does to remedy their educational deficiencies.

The reverse of nonpromotion, regular promotion for the slow-learning child, appears not to be a happy solution either. Although promoted children of mediocre past performance in general fare better than their nonpromoted counterparts, many reveal the undesirable consequences of being unable to contend with expectations of the higher grade. They express concern over parental attitudes toward their schoolwork, cheat more, and give indications of self-doubt.[9] If neither promotion nor nonpromotion produces desirable effects for slow-learning children within our graded system of schooling, then perhaps we must question the basic structure itself.

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[5] John I. Goodlad and associates, "A Study of Childhood Schooling in the United States," mimeographed report (unpublished and not yet ready for distribution), 206 pp.

[6] John I. Goodlad, "Individual Differences and Vertical Organization of the School," *Individualizing Instruction*, pp. 218–219. Sixty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

[7] John I. Goodlad, "Research and Theory Regarding Promotion and Nonpromotion," *Elementary School Journal*, 53 (November 1952), 150–55.

[8] Walter W. Cook and Theodore Clymer, "Acceleration and Retardation," *Individualizing Instruction. Ibid.*, pp. 179–208.

The second major effort of our schools to make the graded system work is a variety of class-to-class grouping practices. Always with us are proposals to bring together in "homogeneous" classes, pupils of like ability or present academic attainment. The "commonsense" argument is that gifted students, working together, will not be held back by their less able colleagues. Similarly, retarded pupils, proceeding at a more appropriate pace with others of like ability, will not be embarrassed by exposure to superior performance. Like many commonsense proposals in education, however, there appears to be little other than impassioned rhetoric to support it. In fact, practicability, research, and rhetoric argue equally strongly for the opposite position.

We have had little success in achieving anything that could reasonably be called homogeneous classes.[10] Ability grouping is particularly ineffective in this regard. Measures of intelligence have been markedly unsuccessful as criteria for bringing together classes that could be regarded as reasonably similar in general or specific attainment. Achievement grouping, on the other hand, which divides into smaller groups a group that is widely diversified with respect to attainment in any subject, obviously reduces the diversity in these smaller groups. But, because of the fact that each student varies so much from subject to subject in his own pattern of attainment, these more homogeneous groups remain about as heterogeneous in everything else as they were before. It takes a very large school population and constant grouping and regrouping to bring together reasonably homogeneous classes for each subject.

Even under such conditions, however, the homogeneity is more apparent than real. Balow,[11] using eight components of reading performance, tested classes of second grade children grouped homogeneously on the basis of two general components of reading performance. He found that the assumed homogeneity no longer maintained; heterogeneity corresponded to that of the previously desegregated classes. About all we can conclude about a class that appears to be homogeneous is that that we have not yet looked closely enough to find the heterogeneity that really exists.

Since classes set up as alike in attainment or ability have sloppy edges, it is not at all surprising to find that studies of their effects are inconclusive. The findings simply do not lend credence to a tight argument for or against such class-to-class grouping so far as subsequent academic achievement is concerned.[12]

There appear to be at least three questionable side effects from the use of nonpromotion and interclass grouping in our elusive pursuit of grade standards and homogeneous classes. First, there is a steady sifting of perhaps a quarter or more of the students to slow classes, the 25 percent of the student body that receives 75 percent of the failing marks. Most instances of grade failure and repetition occur in this segment.

Second and related, teachers of classes segregated for supposed likeness of pupils assume far greater likeness than exists.[13] In effect, the gross differences among children in any group are obscured rather than revealed. It is not likely, therefore, that there will be adequate instructional provision for individuality.

Third, children's grade failure and segregation on the basis of limited ability or performance does not enhance their self-respect. Further, not much is expected of such children. In fact, we have some evidence to suggest that learning proceeds more effectively when teachers have high but realistic standards and when everything possible is done to enhance students' self-image.[14]

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[9] John I. Goodlad, "Some Effects of Promotion and Nonpromotion Upon the Social and Personal Adjustment of Children," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 22 (June 1954), 34–43.

[10] A sharp distinction must be made between setting up homogeneous classes, discussed here, and the everyday practice of grouping children within a class for a variety of changing purposes after pupils have been assigned to classes on some basis.

[11] I. H. Balow, "Does Homogeneous Grouping Give Homogeneous Groups?" *Elementary School Journal*, 63 (October 1962), 28–32.

[12] For a review of the research, see Ruth B. Ekstrom, *Experimental Studies of Homogeneous Grouping*. Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1959; and Nils-Eric Svensson, *Ability Grouping and Scholastic Achievement*. Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1962.

[13] John I. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, *The Nongraded Elementary School* (Revised Edition). New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1963. See ch. 1.

In summary: (1) environmental deprivation characterizes the social milieu of a substantial segment of our pupil population throughout the school career; (2) traditional practices of nonpromotion and interclass grouping in the graded school system are likely to pile up in academically segregated classes a disproportionate number of disadvantaged children and youth; (3) experience and research to date suggest that such practices do not remedy the learning problems of pupils who are so segregated; and (4) certain side effects of nonpromotion and interclass homogeneous grouping in schools seem to aggravate the very conditions education for disadvantaged boys and girls is supposed to remedy.

Common use of the graded school system and its accompanying adjustment mechanisms of nonpromotion and homogeneous class grouping tend to create an internal school condition of academic segregation of slow-learning youngsters. Since environmental deprivation and school retardation are disproportionately the lot of the Negro, academic segregation in racially integrated schools becomes also racial segregation. Many Negroes are thus denied the assumed advantages of integrated schools. The goals of the educational park are subverted by traditional practices deeply imbedded in schooling. Clearly, we have before us a perverse reality; the necessity of preventing and remedying segregation in the integrated school.

IV

The fact that racial segregation accompanies academic segregation in the nominally integrated school sharply delineates the need for two positive sets of educational circumstances. First, each student should work at his optimal level of readiness in each field of endeavor without stigma and without enforced separation from his natural peers. Second, the school milieu should provide for diagnosis of the readiness and learning potential of each child. Subsequent prescription must not result in the immobilization of the child in a segregated class placement.

In regard to the first, a trap to be avoided is that of simply moving each child along with his age group regardless of accomplishments. This is a misguided educational practice of earlier eras, another poor adjustment mechanism of the graded system. The age of a child is far more useful in determining his social relationships than in determining his readiness for specified learning tasks. *A recommended way out of the dilemma of adjusting learning tasks upward or downward without destroying the age-group propinquity most boys and girls seem to seek and need is the nongraded school.*

In regard to the second, there is no evidence to suggest that homogeneous grouping either increases the likelihood of individual pupil diagnosis or provides the range of alternatives necessitated by pupil variability. This practice assumes conditions that do not really exist and encourages a monolithic approach rather than a varied approach to instruction. Pupils, varied as they are in present attainments, characteristics, and rates of progress, need to be placed in a wide and changing array of groups, groups that are reconstituted through diagnosis of and prescription for the students comprising them. *A recommended procedure for providing the essential flexibility involved is cooperative or team teaching.*

Unfortunately, both nongrading and team teaching, in practice, often deviate markedly from the conceptions supposedly underlying them. For example, most schools claiming to be nongraded have not adjusted learning tasks upward or downward to accompany individual differences in an age group without walling off members of that group one from another. In fact, many so-called nongraded schools are not nongraded at all; they simply employ the time-worn practice of homogeneous interclass grouping under no modern label. Those responsible for educational parks must be acutely aware of this corruption and, should they move to nongrading, be sensitive to the fact that new labels do not necessarily beget new practices.

Similarly, some schools claiming to practice team teaching have brought about nothing more than a systematic sharing of subjects among teachers. The same old practices of stereotyping and segregating pupils continue under a new label. Neither diagnosis nor prescription from an increased range of alternatives is enhanced.

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[14] For an example of the kind of research involved, see R. Rosenthal, "Covert Communications and Tacit Understandings in the Psychological Experiment," unpublished manuscript.

The vagueness and misconceptions regarding nongrading and team teaching are such that they are not likely to be clarified by general talk. Specifics are called for, in spite of the fact that specifics have inherent in them the danger of seeming to deny other alternatives. There are many ways of organizing and conducting nongraded, team-taught schools. The intent below is to illustrate conceptions that hold unusual potential for desegregating the integrated school.

Figure 1 suggests the nature of the central problem to be reckoned with. The spread in reading attainment of a second grade class is usually from four to six years. The lower end of the scale cannot be depicted adequately because reading tests are not constructed to measure it. The spread in fifth grade class is eight or more years and overlaps the second grade at its lower end. But the spread in age at each of these grade levels is only a year or a little more.

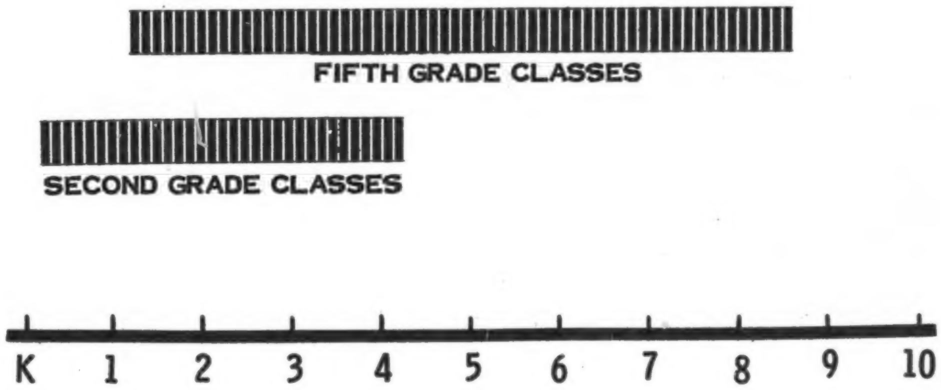

FIGURE 1. COMMON SPREAD WITHIN AND OVERLAP OF SECOND AND FIFTH GRADE CLASSES IN READING.

Bar graphs for each of the other subjects would reveal somewhat smaller but, nonetheless, substantial ranges in achievement. Further, if the attainment of each child were plotted on these bars, a substantial variation in attainment from subject to subject would be demonstrated. It is impossible to provide appropriate programs of instruction for each child in these divergent patterns without ignoring present grade placements of children.

To ignore grade levels and grade placements is to take a significant step toward nongrading. Two alternative approaches suggest themselves. The first is simply to assign each teacher a class of, for example, seven-year-olds who normally would be in the second grade. There is nothing new here. But then the teacher is instructed to ignore the grade level and is provided with a diverse array of instructional materials more realistically geared to the spread of the group. This procedure need not cost more; materials simply are distributed differently. Each teacher, in a self-contained classroom, strives to reach the floors and ceilings of the class through a variety of individual and small-group procedures. The elipses in figure 2 suggest the effort to encompass the full range of individuality while maintaining in one classroom a completely integrated age group. Homogeneity in age is maintained as in graded schools but heterogeneity in present attainment is recognized and, within the capabilities of each teacher, is dealt with.

This approach places a heavy burden on the teacher. Actually, the range of individual differences to be managed is no greater than in a graded, self-contained classroom. But the expectations are different. The teacher is being called upon to provide for individual differences. By contrast, the graded system obscures individuality and suggests the desirability of striving for a common denominator. Meeting the expectations of nongrading in a satisfactory manner simply is more demanding.

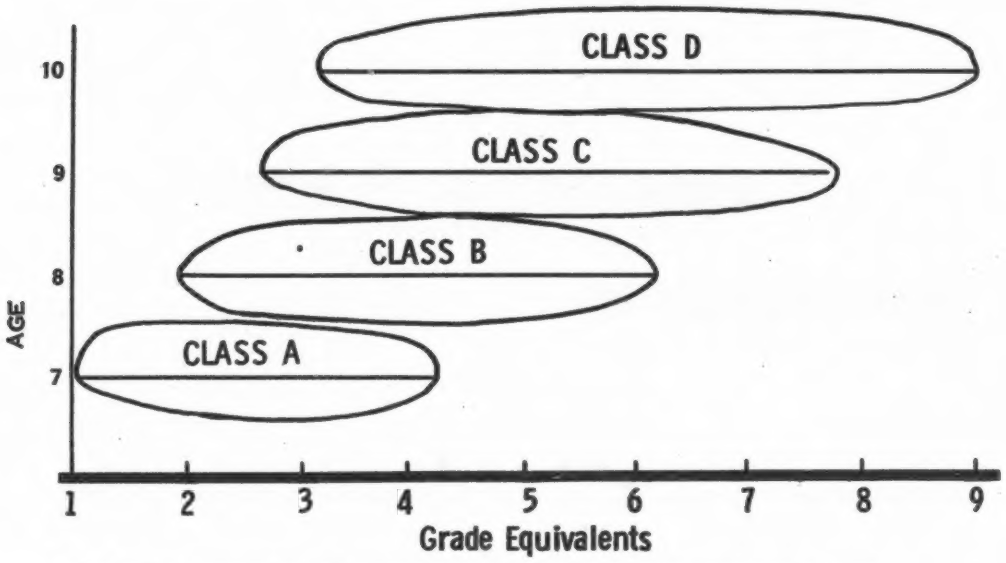

FIGURE 2. SPREAD OF INDIVIDUAL ATTAINMENTS PROVIDED FOR INSTRUCTIONALLY IN NONGRADED, SELF-CONTAINED CLASSES.

For this reason, teachers increasingly are being attracted to a second alternative, one in which nongrading is coupled with cooperative or team teaching. Two or more teachers of nine-year-olds, for example, bring their classes together and consider them to be just one large instructional group. Then, planning together, they subdivide this group on a day-by-day (sometimes hour-by-hour) basis, occasionally teaching a single large group but usually working with small clusters or with individuals.

There appear to be many advantages in this procedure.[15] It becomes possible, for example, for one teacher to concentrate on the particular learning problems of perhaps a dozen boys and girls while another teacher supervises the remainder. One teacher is able from time to time to stand back from bustling activity in order to observe the behavior of one child. Then, all the teachers diagnose and prescribe on the basis of these observations. More students and more teachers make possible many kinds of groupings. No child need be permanently in any one group. Hence, segregation within the school is reduced to a minimum.

Once teachers manage to hurdle the physical and psychological barriers of the graded, self-contained classroom and to perceive the flexibility of nongrading and team teaching, they usually become creative in developing many variations on the themes introduced above. A particularly promising one for the avoidance of segregated class groups is the inclusion of several age levels in the nongraded, team-taught group. As nongrading becomes a way of both thinking and practicing education, age becomes less important in assigning pupils to groups. Figures 1 and 2 reveal that age is a rather poor criterion for determining what to teach or what already has been learned.

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[15] For a comprehensive treatment of the theory and practice of team teaching, see Judson T. Shaplin and Henry F. Olds (editors), *Team Teaching*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Figure 3 shows five clusters of students and teachers in a nongraded, team-taught school. Each elipse encompasses both the ages and the grade equivalents brought together in each team. The size of the elipse, small or large, suggests that clusters include varying numbers of students and teachers. Thus C is the smallest cluster and E the largest.

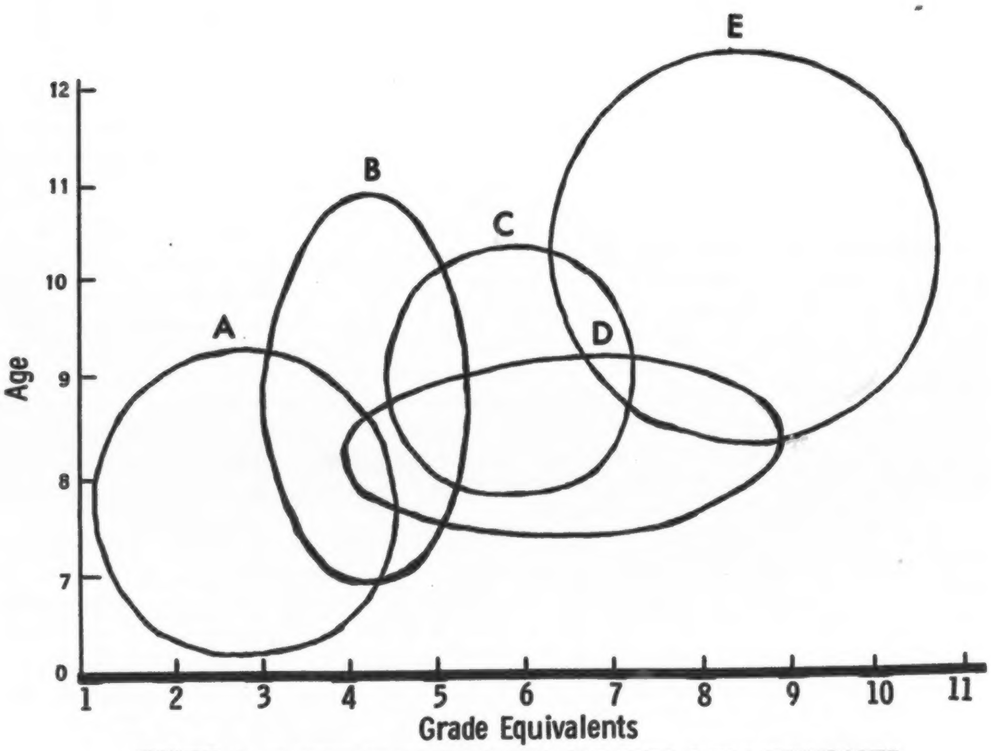

FIGURE 3. CLUSTERS OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS IN A NONGRADED, TEAM-TAUGHT SCHOOL.

Following from left to right in Figure 3, then, cluster A contains boys and girls between the ages of 6+ and 9+ and provides instruction across what would be four grades in a graded school. Cluster B spreads over ages 7 through nearly 11 and includes three grade levels. Cluster C includes three age levels and four grades. Cluster D takes care of children from 7+ to 9+ and spreads across six grades. Cluster E includes ages 8, 9, 10,11, and 12 and five grades. Of course, grade levels are ignored but the concept is used here to convey the departure from typical, graded conventions.

Groups might well contain from 50 to 150 or more pupils and the equivalent of two or more teachers. The word "equivalent" is used here because there is no need to follow conventional staffing patterns. A group of 90 children might well be taught by two full-time teachers, two interns, two student teachers and a community helper. For example, although the University Elementary School at UCLA is budgeted for a full-time staff of 25 persons, over 50 are on the payroll, a minority of whom are full time.[16]

Nongrading and team teaching of this more complex species are possible in traditional school buildings but such patterns of class organization and the new flexible buildings go hand in glove. Any school district that is today still building compartmentalized, egg-crate schools is wasting the taxpayers' money.

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[16] John I. Goodlad, "Meeting Children Where They Are," *Saturday Review* (Mar. 20, 1965), pp. 57–59, 72–74.

It takes only a little imagination to perceive not only possible variations along the lines of what is depicted in Table 3 but also the potentiality of such patterns for dealing educationally with individual differences. There is no need to segregate slow learners in a nonpromoted or "homogeneous" class because they are unable to do the work of the grade. The norms of expectancy simply are spread out to reach them; there are no grades. It is not necessary to overlook the limited accomplishments of a child simply to keep him with his age group. By spreading out the ages in the total group, it is possible both to adapt academic work to individual needs and to provide appropriate peer associations. There is no sifting of slow learners, usually those who are environmentally disadvantaged, to academically and often racially segregated classes because youngsters of all academic levels are provided for within the nongraded, team-taught cluster.

V

Educational parks, enrolling children from all racial and socioeconomic segments of the city, constitute a bold effort to rectify long-standing inequities in educational opportunity that have disproportionately disadvantaged Negro boys and girls. Ironically, however, they reveal the fact that certain long-standing school practices have tended to perpetuate the very environmental disadvantages that education is supposed to overcome. Specifically, grouping practices based on measures of ability or attainment have tended to bring together in segregated class groups those children that seem to be profiting least from school. These tend to be environmentally handicapped children. In the big cities and in the new educational parks being developed in some of these cities, these children are or will be disproportionately Negro.

The problem lies not with the educational parks as such but with their likelihood of perpetuating those grouping and grading practices that characterize our schools generally. These practices segregate the slow-learning child. If educational parks are to accomplish their commendable mission and avoid resegregation in ostensibly desegrated schools, they must move vigorously to certain new practices now being recommended, practices designed to overcome inequities in educational opportunity through concern for human variability and individuality.

One of these is nongrading which seeks to raise the ceilings and lower the floors of educational expectancy and provision to coincide with the full range of individual differences always present in an instructional group. The second is team teaching which breaks down the teacher-per-class-per-grade concept and opens up possibilities for teams of teachers, teacher aides, and others to work together in planning programs based on diagnosis of all those individuals constituting an enlarged group.

The combination of nongrading and team teaching is peculiarly powerful in educational parks. The very size of such institutions provides an endless array of alternative ways to set up clusters of teachers and students. At the same time, each cluster takes on an identity and provides a school within a school to offset the dangers of anonymity in the large school setting. Most important of all, this pattern of school and classroom organization provides maximum flexibility with respect to the placement and re-placement of pupils for instructional purposes. Segregation of any group on any criterion for an extended period of time is so unlikely to occur through the natural operation of the system that it would have to be brought about by deliberately sabotaging the system. By contrast, such segregation is difficult to avoid in the graded school.

Nongrading, team teaching, and other flexible approaches to school organization do not in themselves remedy the educational disadvantages of harsh environments. But they do remove some of the norms and traditions that have contributed to stereotyping and segregating boys and girls who carry their environmental disadvantages into the classroom throughout their school experience. And these innovations create an expectancy for individualized approaches to learning, approaches that tend to eschew segregated groups.

Appendix D 2.3

EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE EDUCATIONAL PARK

(This paper was prepared for the Commission by Francis Keppel, Chairman, Board of Directors, General Learning Corp., New York City.)

This paper is written in response to three issues raised by the Commission:

1. What does the present state of computer technology and your views of its future development suggest about its possible use in providing substantially more individualized instruction?
2. What possibilities would computer-assisted instruction have in large educational facilities such as the parks? Is there reason to believe that consolidation of school facilities would increase the flexibility with which computers could be used in instructional programs?
3. We would also like to address ourselves to the question of the possibilities of the use of technology in educational parks. We have been thinking in terms of the possible advantages and disadvantages of such large facilities. There have been suggestions that they will offer the opportunity for considerable improvements in the quality of education, which is probably true. However, we are concerned about the possible disadvantages which might flow from sheer numbers and physical size. One of the major questions, I suspect, would have to do with the forms of school organization which would eliminate or minimize those disadvantages.

Certain general comments seem appropriate before turning specifically to the relation between educational technology and the educational park. To begin with, it must be emphasized that hard evidence on the educational returns from much of the "new technology" is simply not available. The large-scale program of research and development financed by the Federal Government is very recent, and the regional laboratories supported by the U.S. Office of Education are still at the organizational stage. There has been no lack, however, of enthusiastic statements about what the new technology can and will do—someday. The arduous task between now and someday, however, requires going through the painful step-by-step processes of trial and change, of persuasion and defense, of innovation and reaction, with little precedent available as a guide.

Under these circumstances, no dependable estimate can be made of the relative costs and social and educational returns involved in introducing educational technology into the parks as compared to the costs and returns of other methods that may be open to the society to achieve the ends sought by the Commission. Conceivably, investments in metropolitan planning or housing or transportation could lead to equality of educational opportunity more rapidly and effectively than investment in educational parks which include substantial use of new technology. This paper does not attempt to deal with factors of cost or relative efficiency because of lack of evidence on which to base a judgment.

Though there is a lack of data on the results of new technologies, we do have some experience from earlier efforts to try out new educational ideas in the schools, whether or not of a technological character. There has been a rapid swing of the pendulum from fad to forget. The very lack of an orderly system of research, development, demonstration, and adaptation to school needs has created a doubting attitude among many educators about highly touted new answers to old problems. Seasoned teachers are not unaware that public attention can be fickle, and that if some new idea goes wrong, they will still be held responsible for the teaching of the next year's crop of students. And teachers have an effective pocket veto on innovation. The Commission should hesitate, therefore, to put too many of its real and rhetorical eggs in the basket of educational technology. The very act of doing so may create resistance to what could be, as the author will attempt to show later, a promising way to help to achieve equal educational opportunity.

To say that the lack of hard data on results of technology and the nature of the attitudes of educators continue to recommend caution is not to say that the new technologies could not be helpful in the solution of problems of teacher recruitment for educational parks, or their retention on the job, or in other ways. Indeed, it seems likely that many teachers would like to take part in new ventures that increase their productivity as teachers—but only if they do take part in fact. They can reasonably be expected to resist a rhetoric that announces their demise, or relegates them to clerks and makes technology the master. The problem is one of achieving a proper balance between new possibilities and retaining the educational experience of past decades.

One last point is in order, though perhaps so obvious that it requires apology before its statement. The rationale for investment in new educational technology is more relevant to other educational issues than to providing equal opportunity or remedies for segregation; so indeed is the rationale for educational parks, though the Commission's concerns are necessarily centered on these issues. While the focus of this paper is, as requested, on technology in relation to parks and the problems of segregation and disadvantage, it should be considered in the context of the other social and educational forces that have brought attention to educational technology: The expansion of knowledge and the need for its storage and retrieval, the need for more effective use of teacher talents, the availability of new techniques and equipment, et al. The rationales for educational parks and for new educational technology may be related, and helpful to each other, but they are not the same. It seems likely that the advantages of each set of ideas will reinforce each other, but it is also possible that failure or apparent failure in one area could slow progess in the other. It would be tragic if two promising ideas harmed each other, and the best defense against such a possibility is to make it clear that each is justifiable on its own terms and worth the chance of joint development.

Turning now to the questions dealing with computer technology, it is essential to start with a distinction between the state of the art of computers as teaching and learning devices, which can be described as very new, promising, and yet to be proved, and computers as aids to administration, where a strong case can be made that they have proven their immense usefulness in other parts of our society, though not yet in education. In both areas the need for research, development, and demonstration cannot be overstressed, and the cost of such programs should not be minimized. There is almost surely no simple and single solution to the use of computer technology for either purpose. Indeed the Nation must look forward to years of effort in developing a variety of new scientific aids to learning.

What might happen in the schools as technology expands has been called "education's industrial revolution." Some of the technology, notably closed-circuit and educational TV, derives its advantages (both pedagogical and economic) from its application to students in a group. Other parts, films and film loops, for example, can be used one way or another by groups or by individuals. But it is computer technology, uniquely, that realizes its power only as it helps individual students to learn. Only as a computer's enormous capacity for storing and displaying information and its ability to adjust sensitively and logically to new information (performance) are put to use by individual students does that capacity and ability make teaching sense and economic sense.

It would be wrong, and self-defeating, for either the most ardent proponent or the most experienced researchers in the field to claim too much for computer technology as a learning tool right now. Its powers must be validated. Its advantages will have to be made available at a price schools can afford, and strenuous efforts are now being made by government, in the academic community, and by business to conduct research and work out ways of proceeding to that end. It seems hard to doubt that, given enough opportunity to do research and development work with real students in real schools, the power of computers can be harnessed to the advantage of both the individual student and the teacher who guides him.

The problem is not the design of the computer itself or the means of access to it by student or teacher. On these issues rapid, even astonishing progress has been made. It is not inconceivable that through techniques of time-sharing of a central facility and other means costs per student can be brought into a reasonable relation to annual school expenditures. The more difficult problem is the creation of programs to be used by teachers and students, which involves complex issues of combining the efforts of university scholars, computer specialists, and teachers in the schools. High development costs are certain and complex issues of redefining the role of the teacher in the school are involved. While bits and pieces of the problem have been explored, there is no single, overall pilot project that can be used as a referent point. Nevertheless, there are exciting explorations of the use of the computer to provide more individualized learning. These have not reached the stage at which it is possible to predict with any confidence the effect of substantial use of computer aided instruction on the social system of the school itself, which is necessarily a matter of great importance for educational parks. The areas of curriculum to which it is best adapted and most effective, for example, will require far more investigation and development. Yet enough has been done to make it possible to say with a good deal of confidence—

1. that learners of all ages, including the very young, can relate themselves to computer technology: it is not limited to the highly trained;
2. that it permits flexibility: it is not necessarily a straightjacket that discourages a questioning mind;
3. that it has enormous potential for diagnostic purposes: the record of trials and errors and confusions and accomplishments of the learner are at once made available; and
4. that it quite literally can adjust itself to the student's pace.

For these reasons, it seems likely that the power of the computer technology may be of particular value for the pupil whose home background and/or prior education puts him behind in the effort for equal educational opportunity. The computer program has the infinite virtue of patience and has in theory all the time in the world. It can be programed not to punish unintentionally, and there is no reason why the learner cannot feel a certain sense of personal "ownership" of his method of access to its services. Computer technology is color blind and has no memory of race. Linked to programed instruction and flexible systems of staff allocation, the computer has a major contribution to make. And the economic facts of life suggest that larger units might be able to use the technology more effectively than the smaller units.

The above is addressed to computer technology only in one role—in the learning process itself—and suggests that a great deal of development work is needed. Here the Commission might strongly urge that parks be devised with the use of computers at the start with a heavy emphasis on development of programs and techniques. But the state of the art is such that computer technology could help at once in making more effective use of teacher time and in helping achieve more flexible groupings of students—for reasons that may have little directly to do with teaching as such. The number of papers teachers handle in the line of homeroom and/or subject-class duty (attendance, grade recording, report card writing, permanent record card keeping) is staggering and frustrating. It is a major cause of disaffection in the teaching profession and its control could be a major contribution to achieving individualized instruction. If computer technology is already offering demonstrable savings even to a small department store, it is capable of doing the same for a fair-size high school, and surely for an educational park. Right now, computers can rationalize the paperwork load and lift it from the backs of teachers and, of course, administrators.

Yet "paper work"—if the phrase is interpreted to include any kind of method to record results and make information available—is essential to a kind of schooling that puts heavy emphasis on diagnosis of individual problems in learning and on the adjustment of instruction to the pace of the learner. Such schooling is needed by the disadvantaged. Unless this problem is solved, it is possible that the sheer size of the educational park will make it more, rather than less, difficult to adjust to their needs. The use of computer technology for administrative purposes seems, therefore, to be one of the, perhaps the, most hopeful possibility now readily available to the schools, and particularly to educational parks. It deserves intensive development.

It is not unlikely that at present educational parks could be as valuable to computer technology as the technology is to educational parks. The fact that parks are a new idea and have to be built from the ground up makes it inevitable that no one can say precisely how best to adapt the computer technology to the educational need. The very newness of the situation cries out for overall analysis and total planning. The design problems involved in computer installations can best be met and dealt with only as part of a whole plan.

A footnote on the question of introducing computer technology may be appropriate. Presumably, parks will be expensive, involving acquisition of large tracts of land and erection of many buildings in a costly complex. In such a setting the cost of computer installations of all sorts might not bulk so large as a percent of the total cost as they would appear on the top of a normal budget, and hence present less of a problem to local government and perhaps less of a fear to local educators.

This point deserves the Commission's attention. For it is undeniable that computer technology for some is an angel sent to help those in trouble, and for others is an ogre out to eat them up. Seen as part of a larger whole, computer technology falls into place as a powerful tool in the provision of substantially more individualized instruction.

As far as technology is concerned, the method of access to the computer by the student does not necessarily lead to the conclusion "that consolidation of school facilities would increase the flexibility with which computers could be used in instructional programs." Potentially, the computer technology is adaptable, though presumably at varying costs, to a widely differing set of physical circumstances of the learner, from the classroom to a special "computer" room in or out of the school. But the opportunities involved in planning for its use in a new setting for both administrative and teaching purposes, and the general argument based on economy of scale, suggest that the educational park concept is likely to be a healthy setting for the development of the technology.

The key phrase in the preceding sentence is "in a new setting." For the computer technology is not easy to absorb into the usual school routine. It is sure to have a disturbing effect on any social system into which it is fitted and the potential advantages of being a part of a new system from the very start are perhaps equally great to the educational park concept and to the development of computer technology. The reason for greater flexibility in the setting of the educational park, in short, has less to do with the strictly technical aspects of the computer and its applications than it has to do with the problems of innovation in general and the finance of schools in particular.

As to the broader question of the use of technology in educational parks, and its relation to "possible disadvantages which might flow from sheer numbers and physical size," it seems safe to say that the newer educational technology can be used to reduce the disadvantages—but only if consciously planned with that goal in mind. It is not hard to find, for example, existing schools in which students are treated as ciphers whether or not use is made of technology of various sorts.

We must return again to the need for systematic planning of the use to which the several types of new technology are to be put. If it is to be the objective of the educational park to individualize instruction, as it should surely be, especially for the disadvantaged, then the technology of all sorts can be adapted to that purpose. Assuming that one disadvantage that causes particular concern is the learner's sense of being lost in a huge crowd, with no one to care for him, the use of the diagnostic powers of the computer technology, programed instruction, and films for small groups or individuals offer a powerful tool. It can too easily be assumed that the new technology somehow has to be bigger than the child and frightening to him when in fact it can be as natural as a desk and built to his scale. The question is not primarily that of the physical equipment, but rather the way in which children are grouped with each other and in relation to the teachers.

For the purposes of the educational park, the related methods of the nongraded approach and of team teaching seem to offer the best organizational techniques to take advantage of the new technology, while at the same time keeping the size of the student group to manageable proportions for purposes of individual attention and maintenance of discipline. It seems likely that there will be an increasing variety of technological aids to learning other than the book—films, other audio and visual materials, programed instruction, language laboratories, as well as the computer technology—available to student and teacher. The rigidity of the class of fixed size mitigates against the flexible use of such aids, partly for the reasons of discipline but largely because of the teachers' inability under such a system to choose the right aid at the right time for the right child or small group of children.

The possibility of constant direction of a small staff and a limited size student group by a master teacher using specialists and assistants offers an opportunity to reduce substantially the disadvantages of large numbers and increases the chances of individualized instruction. But there is a major proviso that must be entered, even though it falls partly outside the scope of this paper, to qualify the suggestion on forms of school organization that might reduce the disadvantages of large size. Both nongraded approaches and team teaching require special preparation or special retraining for teachers. So does the use of the new technological aids to learning. It seems essential, therefore, that from the start the educational park will have to be planned in collaboration with universities and colleges and probably should serve as a center for teacher preparation and training. Experience with training programs at several universities interested in nongraded instruction and team teaching suggests that the use of schools for such a purpose can help to create and maintain an atmosphere of excitement and professional concern with the needs of the individual student. The technique of joint appointment between school and university staff also deserves the Commission's attention in this connection. For the problems of sheer numbers and the loss of individuality apply as much to teachers as to students.

In summary, it may be said that computer technology is a promising, but insufficiently developed or tested, instrument for individualized instruction. It seems particularly promising in the diagnosis and solution of the education problems of the disadvantaged. The computer as an aid to the solution of administrative problems related to the educational park concept deserves vigorous and immediate application. The very fact that the parks would be new suggests that they would be better fitted to take advantage of the computer technology than existing schools, but only provided there was a program of systematic analysis and planning from the start. The problem of size presented by large educational parks might be solved in part by the use of nongraded instruction and team teaching organization, if linked to the new technology and if associated with teacher preparation and retraining.

Appendix D 2.4

TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY: THE TEACHER AND THE EDUCATIONAL PARK

(This paper was prepared for the Commission by Dr. Dan C. Lortie, Midwest Administration Center, Department of Education, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.)

I

Educational inequality for Negro children, and for others in disadvantaged circumstances, results from the interplay of complex factors.[1] One of the key factors is the inequality represented by the differential distribution of public school teachers. The fact of that inequality is clear; while schools and school systems in white, prosperous areas generally select their teachers from a number of interested candidates, positions in slum schools go begging. Children whose families and communities equip them to learn are taught by teachers perceived as able by those operating the academic marketplace while students with cultural disadvantages receive their instruction from teachers who do not receive the "better jobs."[2] Teacher distribution does not always result, to be certain, in superior teachers for the well-to-do or inferior ones for the poor; slum schools have some outstanding faculty members and the wealthiest suburbs their ineffectives. Yet the allocative system features a basic bias against the slum school—given the operations of the market, it does not obtain a proportionate share of teacher talent. That bias means intensification of difficulties for the poor and augmentation of advantage for the well-to-do.

Inequities in distribution are not surprising in an economy where persons are free to choose their employment. The gap in desirability between the slum school and others is simply too great for us to expect other than the results we see. Teachers, like others in the labor market, gravitate to those positions they see as more desirable. The contrast between the slum school and an affluent one contains more than the visible features of shabby surroundings, the atmosphere of defeat, the violence of one compared to the newness, brightness, and tranquility of the other. The slum school means the concentration of troubled children in one place and a resulting intensification of difficulties;

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[1] The reader will note that references to students who suffer inequalities found in public schools are not exclusively to Negro students. There are other groups, such as Puerto Ricans in New York, who experience many of the same difficulties, and some white students encounter similar problems, as in the case of the Southern white immigrants in Chicago. The major thrust, however, is toward the Negro student in cities outside the South.

[2] For a detailed study of inequities experienced by minority group children, see Coleman, James S. *et al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1966.) Esp. pp. 122–182.

the outcome is a subculture among students inimical to learning and frustrating to teaching. Teachers, generally persons who take their work seriously, prefer to work where the expenditure of skill and energy is more likely to produce discernible results. The plain fact is that many, perhaps most, teachers feel that it is impossible to attain a sense of professional achievement in the slum school. Given that belief, it is small wonder that most teachers avoid the slum school where they can or, once in it, seek transfer. Small wonder that observers feel that some teachers, trapped in the slum school, give less than their best.

Movement away from slum schools is built into the career and reward system of public school teachers. Opportunities for promotion are restricted for those who wish to remain in the classroom and those who wish to improve their standing as teachers do so by moving from one school to another.[3] Career success means going to a "better school" with "better students;" the encomium coincides with institutions in more prosperous areas and students from higher income families. The core daily rewards of teachers, moreover, are enhanced by attentive, eager-to-learn students. When such students do occur in slum classrooms, the student subculture may make it expedient for them to conceal interest in learning. The clear discrepancy in teacher rewards between slum and other schools makes it unlikely that inequities in teacher distribution will be readily dissolved.

The last few years have witnessed increasing concern for the fate of Negro and other disadvantaged children and today we see the expression of that concern in a variety of programs directed toward improving instruction for the "culturally deprived." There are saturation efforts, schemes to recruit and train teachers and talk as well about paying higher salaries to those who staff slum schools. Are such approaches likely to redress the imbalance in teacher distribution?

Special programs for the disadvantaged have received impetus from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It is too early to learn about, much less assess, the hundreds of specific projects spawned by Federal support. We can, however, estimate some of the likely effects on teacher supply associated with the dominant strategy employed in most of these undertakings—the concept of saturation. That concept calls for the provision of more instructional services to students in poverty areas; although it is primarily an intensification of conventional approaches to instruction, it can have certain novel consequences.

The immediate effect of saturation programs is to strain existing resources of professional personnel. More teaching requires more teachers and bridging the gap between the school and its environment requires social workers, psychologists and new specialists such as school-community agents. Shortages of skilled professionals make school systems readier to employ subprofessionals to take on the less skilled aspects of the teacher's work—tasks generally disliked by teachers. Saturation programs frequently provide for special inservice training of teachers in slum schools. Will the opportunity to work with a variety of specialists, to discard disliked tasks and to gain specialized knowledge produce an attractive role for teachers?

It is not likely that saturation programs will constitute a long-range solution to problems in teacher distribution. The potential gains associated with working with specialists and obtaining relief from tedious chores are not the exclusive prerogative of teachers in inner-city schools. It appears that we are on the verge of widespread differentiation in the teacher's role; one can argue, in fact, that the more flexible and wealthier school systems will move toward such differentiation more rapidly not because of economic pressures but simply because such differentiation has intrinsic appeal. Nor does it seem likely that specialization based on work with the disadvantaged will add to the stature of slum school work. Work with the poor has always been challenging in the professions, but the usual outcome is for prestige to be aligned with service to persons of high rather than low social standing. Perhaps the best hope in saturation programs rests in the capacity of some schoolmen to generate excitement for their purposes and to hold more teachers than normally choose to stay in slum schools.

We are seeing the emergence of programs of teacher preparation designed for those who plan to teach in inner-city schools. Such programs, it is hoped, will attract idealistic college students who would otherwise satisfy their impulses toward service in other ways.

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[3] This pattern was first observed by Howard Becker in his study of the Chicago public school teacher. It has been found to prevail in the author's research on teachers in the Northeastern United States as well.

Yet such programs face a problem in giving their students any pronounced advantage over those without specialized preparation, for the current state of knowledge about instruction for the culturally deprived is very limited. Failing a pronounced advantage, those leaving such programs for work in slum schools are not likely to see the reality in a significantly different way from other teachers; the reality of slum school work is likely to affect them in much the same way it has affected generations of teachers before them. Yet such special training programs merit support. In drawing university personnel and abler students into a concern with inner-city problems, they could stimulate inquiry into those problems and result in more reliable and effective knowledge than we currently possess.

The National Teacher Corps supports specialized preparation for specially recruited young persons interested in teaching in the inner-city. Its fate is uncertain as I write—Congress may not appropriate funds for its continuance. The Corps is undertaking some interesting approaches to training teachers for work in slum schools; the use of teams and experienced leaders is among the innovations featured in this program. The Corps, however, even if it survives, will not provide any substantial proportion of the teachers needed to man the schools attended by Negro and other disadvantaged children. Nor can the Corps intervene to affect the reality differences which exist between slum and other schools: it can help to recruit some teachers and experiment with different training approaches, but its authority over Corps members is extremely limited. Since it represents one of the few Federal attempts to assist with finding teachers for slum schools, it merits support, but it is not likely to make a major difference in the years ahead.

Proposals to increase salaries for those working in the inner-city constitute a frontal attack on the relative undesirability of such employment and, as such, deserve close attention. Such arrangements, however, contain difficulties of implementation which would require resolution in any attempt to use this approach to solve inequities in teacher distribution.

One of the difficulties with the salary approach lies in the subculture of public school teachers. The attitudes teachers hold toward financial inducements are complex and subtle. Individual teachers are loath to grant that money rewards played any significant part in their decision to enter teaching or, once in the occupation, to affect their selection of positions.[4] Nor is it easy to find an objective test of the potency of money differentials in teacher mobility, as higher salaries are generally associated with such other benefits as better working conditions, abler students, superior physical facilities, etc. To raise salaries for those who work in slum schools would mean the isolation of this factor of money income and would thereby make the decision to teach in slum schools a money-motivated act. I suspect that taking employment on purely monetary grounds would embarrass many teachers; the rhetoric and values associated with dedication are by no means dead among public school teachers. There are indications that some teacher associations resist this approach.[5]

The desirability of special salary inducements for slum teaching can be questioned on other grounds. Students in slum schools are, of course, predominantly Negroes or members of other sensitive minority groups. What would be the effect of defining work with such students as a "hardship post" requiring special compensation? Might such a definition act to reinforce the alienation, sense of apartness and inferiority feelings so often experienced by minority group students? Would the students come to see their teachers as having to be bribed to work with them? Should such a definition of the situation arise, it is not likely that salary inducements would add to the teacher's sense of overall satisfaction. Salary differentials for slum school teachers may hold promise as a shortrun solution, but considerable ingenuity would be required to prevent such an approach from backfiring with both students and teachers.

This necessarily brief review of current proposals for improving the distribution of public school teachers suggests a general conclusion. Although each proposal contains promise, in each instance that promise falls short of what is required. A more equitable distribution of teachers apparently calls for fundamental change in the allocative system; it does not seem to yield to piecemeal improvement. We should probably welcome any approaches that attract able teachers to work with disadvantaged youngsters in the years to come. Yet there seems good reason to believe that a long-range and stable solution to this problem requires basic changes in the organization of our public schools.

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[4] This statement is based on the author's research with teachers in the Boston Metropolitan area.

[5] I am indebted to Wesley Wildman for information on this matter. Mr. Cogen, the new national head of the American Federation of Teachers, opposed differential salaries for New York City teachers while he served as president of the New York union.

II

The concept of the large educational complex serving youngsters of diverse racial and social background could provide genuine redress of inequities in the distribution of public school teachers.[6] By eliminating the neighborhood school, an institution which, by reflecting residential segregation, produces homogeneous schools, such complexes would remove the very basis of the invidious comparisons which now lie at the heart of the allocative system. Educational parks, in short, could mean the disappearance of that special dread of most teachers—the slum school.

The potential for equality that rests in educational parks stems from the fact that they represent a basic organizational change: being such, they will encounter resistance from some sectors of the American public. What of teachers? Is it not likely that they, sensing basic changes in their work world, will respond with opposition rather than enthusiasm? The data available on teacher attitudes depict them as uncritical supporters of the neighborhood school even where it contributes to racial segregation.[7] Educational complexes must gain the support of a certain proportion of teachers in order to succeed; teachers can, if nothing else, cause the failure of the concept by simply failing to apply for positions where such parks exist.

The idea of the educational park will not be translated into reality immediately in all American cities. It boggles the imagination to visualize large numbers of communities scrapping their existing plants to undertake an untried and unproved method of school organization. The possiblities in the concept must be tested and found real; whatever initial efforts are called, they will prove to be pilot projects for the Nation-at-large. The issue of teacher response, then, is somewhat more manageable. Can a variety of teachers, including the ablest, be interested in working in the first wave of education parks? Will teacher reaction to the idea permit this approach a fair trial?

I believe the answer to this important question is "Yes, *if*." The "if" is critical in this abbreviated response. The purpose of this section of the paper will be to discuss factors which are likely to affect teacher attitudes toward educational complexes. Teacher resistance is, in fact, sufficiently likely to warrant answering the question posed above "no, unless." Any large-scale change involves costs, apparent and latent, for those who work within the affected organization; winning acceptance for change requires that perceived costs be offset by perceivable gains. It is essential, therefore, that we locate the bases on which teachers will object, explicitly or not, to the replacement of neighborhood schools by large "superschools" drawing students from a wider geographical area. Educational parks, once established, will be forced to compete with the well-established neighborhood school. Pilot educational complexes, whatever their merits, can succeed only if teachers volunteer to work in them and, having done so, are convinced that they are at least the equal of neighborhood schools. Unless that condition be met, we shall not be in the position to give the educational park concept adequate testing and appraisal.

The belief that educational parks can attract sufficient numbers of competent teachers for extensive pilot testing rests upon certain assumptions. Although they may be in a minority, there are various groups of teachers who, I believe, would welcome the chance to work in complexes. Such natural allies to the idea include Negro urban teachers, liberals in teacher ranks, those now in slum schools who do so for reasons of personal commitment and a significant proportion of beginning teachers enthusiastic about fresh and different approaches. The task of recruitment and inducement is to add enough

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[6] This paper makes no distinction between educational parks, educational complexes, etc. Those terms are used interchangeably to refer to a large school drawing students from a wider geographical area than is currently found where neighborhood schools exist. The size could, of course, vary depending upon the circumstances, and although I have thought primarily in terms of a comprehensive school including elementary and secondary students, the concept can also be employed to refer to large specialized institutions.

[7] Coleman, *et al.*, *op. cit.* See the tables on pages 169 and 170 where high percentages of teachers express a preference for neighborhood schools. The question asked, however, did not cite a clear alternative such as educational parks.

"ordinary" teachers to this nucleus to staff the first educational parks; strategies for designing and operating such institutions must, therefore, take account of these "swing votes." More specifically, this refers to white teachers, and since high school teachers have already experienced schools with students drawn from larger areas and featuring internal diversity, the key group consists of elementary teachers. It is within that group that resistance is likely to be greatest; obtaining sufficient numbers of teachers to staff educational parks will require special efforts to convince elementary teachers that educational parks constitute a desirable alternative to the system of dispersed, small schools they currently support.

a.

No matter how acute the analysis nor informed the discussion, it is impossible for us to predict, in any detail, the myriad ways in which large school centers will differ from previous public school experience. Nor will any amount of planning by others, no matter how skilled and imaginative, provide those who will work in such schools with a sense of personal involvement in their development and functioning. The design and creation of educational complexes will require a plethora of specialized talents, but as far as its acceptability to teachers is concerned, none will be as important as the teachers themselves. Specific arrangements for teacher participation can and should vary from community to community, but the principle of such participation, seriously implemented, is vital to the fate of the educational park concept.

There are those who will resist teacher participation, arguing that their inclusion will stifle the emergence of adventuresome plans. It may well be true that the larger the circle of participants, the more difficult it is to win acceptance for novel, untried ideas. Yet the design of a school is one thing, and its operation another. Teachers, who possess enormous, under-the-counter veto power, could readily subvert plans they did not believe in by token acceptance and informal rejection. Plans to urge the creation of educational parks, therefore, should contain provision for serious, sustained and influential participation by teachers in their development. To attempt imposition of such plans on teachers is to risk their rejection by persons whose cooperation is absolutely essential to their realization.

b.

The fact of novelty can, under certain circumstances, generate excitement for a proposed change; educators tend, somewhat inaccurately, to refer to the attendant enthusiasm as "Hawthorne Effect." Educational parks have characteristics which could evoke such response among those within teaching ranks; they will, presumably, be impressively designed, large-scale, attention-getting structures incorporating the latest advances in educational design and teaching facilities. School administrators will have much to dramatize both in the idea itself and in its basic high purpose—the provision of quality education for all. Undertakings of scale can generate psychological momentum and it seems likely that many teachers, including, one suspects, abler ones, would be attracted to well-conceived educational parks.

There are dangers, however, in an unbridled emphasis on the educational complex as large-scale innovation. The wish to start everything all at once should, I believe, be curbed, for it could, if given expression, induce resistence to the concept of the educational park. There is risk, in other words, of an innovation overload. Teachers who might, admittedly with difficulty, accept the concept of a large and internally diverse school might refuse to support revolutionary (to them) instructional changes. To lay excessive stress on instructional innovation might, in fact, serve to help those who wish to rationalize fear of integration or fear of change in work patterns. The educational complex is, in and of itself, a major innovation. In one fell swoop, it issues a direct challenge to the "cozy" local school and its covertly valued (by many) patterns of racial segregation. Our culture gives strong support to such a challenge (e.g. the feature of comprehensiveness in high schools is advanced on the basis of its functions of social integration), but it would probably be overly optimistic to expect that idealism could carry the twin burdens of major social and instructional change.

Instructional innovation brings costs and anxiety to classroom teachers. Like skilled craftsmen, teachers accumulate specific skills and habitual ways of responding to classroom issues. Regardless of how an outside observer may assess that level of skill, the individual teacher cannot but prize his or her unique kit of techniques and behavior patterns, for they are the closest to capital possessed by the teacher. Innovation, particularly where it moves teaching toward a more production-oriented, engineering-like conception, threatens that capital with rapid depreciation. Teachers reiterate their belief that teaching style is a very personal matter, something that requires integration into one's self, something that is not easily transported, without adaptation, from one person to the next. Thus may teachers be uncertain about their capacity to adjust to change.

Is there contradiction in pointing, simultaneously, to the appeal of the novel and the craft conservatism of teachers? Not, I believe, if it is understood that while teachers resist the imposition of new work patterns they may, and do, value the opportunity to innovate where they believe it will better accomplish their goals. Many teachers express skepticism toward the idea of others devising innovations for them; they seem to see such "fads" as, among other things, maneuvers by self-interested administrators seeking attention. It is likely, in fact, that some administrators innovate (perhaps unconsciously) in order to get at least temporary privileges of direct initiation for teachers; without change, days and weeks may pass without administrators finding a legitimate opportunity to intervene in their subordinates' work. Teacher conservatism rarely rests upon the conviction that the best solution has been found—few teachers possess the arrogance such a conviction entails. What teachers feel, it seems, is that they are best equipped, as individuals, to pass on the merits of a different way of doing things; the test, for them, is in their classroom with their students. When changes "work" there, they are espoused; when they do not, they are rejected.

Teachers might well oppose plans for educational parks, then, which stressed, as a precondition of participation, a readiness to accept a large number of (personally) untested practices. Yet many teachers would welcome the opportunity to observe and think about novel and divergent approaches to classroom activities. Those considering the design of parks, therefore, would be well advised to create maximum opportunities for teacher innovation without prescribing their specific nature. Such an approach suggests the usefulness of flexible construction, financial support for a variety of equipment needs, and the provision of specialized assistance for those undertaking new challenges. Educational parks designed to encourage teacher opportunities for innovation will prove attractive where the imposition of new instructional approaches would repel.

c.

The educational complex involves two major types of change for teachers, and these are particularly marked for members of elementary school staffs. The first is the replacement of small, dispersed units by a collection of units in a central location, a shift from simple to complex organization, from intimacy in setting to the possibility of impersonality. The second series of changes revolves around racial and socioeconomic integration as relatively homogeneous student bodies are replaced by heterogeneous ones. What costs, of a psychological nature, might be entailed in the first set of changes? Can they be offset by adjustments in the plan for educational parks?

The prospect of large and complex organizations may make teachers anxious about the maintenance of personal identity and cause them to worry about the disruption of relationships they currently enjoy. Elementary schools, for example, currently feature a limited set of roles; there is a principal, fellow teachers, secretaries, custodians and students. Simpler organizations, though never quite as simple as they may seem, are more readily managed by individuals than larger ones with more complicated combinations of role relationships. The individual teacher, moreover, can be better known within such a "village"; the teacher's orbit is local and limited, but a stable, simple organization can provide a definite position, a clear reputation for competence or other qualities. Teachers develop a stake in their local reputation—the possibility that the village will give way to a city threatens that ounce of fame.

Teachers may fear that a shift to larger units will threaten their key work rewards. The nature of teacher rewards is such that some degree of autonomy, some day-to-day exercise of personal judgment, is necessary for their realization. Teachers today possess practically no formal autonomy, but the experienced and trusted teacher may in actuality enjoy considerable protection from the intervention of colleagues, administrative superiors and parents. Dispersion of school units means physical separation from central authority and many principals, barring trouble, are given leeway in their daily work round. Principals frequently choose to supervise lightly, and the compliance they exact may be restricted to general rules of the school and minimal specifications for instruction. Thus the teacher is left to rule her room with relative impunity. Teachers now possessing this fragile but real freedom may perceive a large complex as a direct threat to their freedom; proximity to higher authority may be seen as dissolving liberties based on physical distance.

Although the literature on educational parks is still somewhat general and undeveloped, some exponents of such schools stress the desirability for subunits within the overall organization. Consideration of teacher anxieties highlights the crucial nature of this question of internal organization; to attract and hold teachers, educational parks *must* consist of distinct and stable units of limited size and complexity. Such subunits can and should be interrelated for specific purposes, but their import must be unquestionable and their distinct identity readily perceived. Teachers who are accustomed to the relative intimacy and freedom of a well-conducted neighborhood school will be loath to leave it for a vast and undifferentiated establishment. But teacher participation could mean that plans to develop the complex as a series of distinct units will become generally known and understood. Teachers should be involved in working out the division of functions and responsibilities for the separate and overall units; such participation will permit them to protect vital interests which are currently unprotected by formal rules.

Subunits would fulfill a variety of needs for teachers. Such smaller schools would, for example, permit certain regularities in student placement where these seemed desirable to staff members. Teachers who care deeply about their individual rooms (there are such in the elementary school) could visualize space which is theirs to decorate and use as a base of personal identification. Small subunits would enhance the personal recognition of teachers who work within them. Social relationships within the smaller units might continue to be informal and intimate; the existence of separate units could serve to block excessive tendencies toward bureaucratization. It might, in fact, be wise to follow a kind of Oxford plan where each subunit is named and encouraged to develop a particular identity. Whatever specific arrangements are worked out, however, it is clear that educational parks, to prove attractive to teachers, must be organized to achieve a considerable degree of continuity with present work arrangements. The subunit holds the greatest promise for ensuring that outcome.

Teachers today show increasing concern for a more active and responsible role in decisions that affect instruction. Responsible participation would, I believe, increase the overall effectiveness of schools and contribute to the professional development of public school teaching. It is likely that the autonomy which gets expression in the governance of instructional affairs is a more constructive force than the autonomy of the closed door; it leads, among other things, to greater faculty awareness of the total goals of the school and their part within it. Small subunits enhance teacher participation by keeping decision-making groups small. Enough has been said, I trust, to illustrate the major point that educational parks should not, under any circumstances, be designed as monolithic bureaucracies. The possibilities they present for meaningful teacher participation in the governance of instruction may prove to be among their most attractive features.

d.

There is no panacea for overcoming racial prejudice. It is quite likely that some teachers will never choose to work in racially integrated schools, in the North as well as the South. Those with strong racial antipathies are no loss to those who would establish educational parks; in fact strenuous efforts should be made to screen out teachers whose basic attitudes are antieducational for Negro (as well as white) children.

Some teachers, however, fear the prospect of working in racially integrated settings primarily because it is new and different. Whatever is known about the effective management of racial integration should be used in introducing such teachers to this new experience; the issue is too critical for educators to indulge in any squeamishness about head-counting, quotas and the like. Realistic strategies will be required and these will demand that administrators face up to people's feelings about race. There will be times when concessions will have to be made in the interests of long-range racial harmony, and administrators of educational parks will have to be given latitude in making the best decisions they can in this area of sensitive human relationships.

Some teachers will fear integration because they hold a stereotype of the Negro student, a "blackboard jungle" type of image. They have heard about schools where knives flash, teachers are attacked and girls are pregnant before their teens. Such fears are not without their grounds, for such schools do exist today. The point is, however, that teachers must come to disassociate that image from the integrated, well-conducted educational park. Steps will have to be taken to allay such anxieties both before and after teachers work in educational complexes.

As large and diverse city schools, educational complexes will require special attention to questions of control and discipline. This is no simple matter, as some educationists would have us believe, of providing "a child-centered curriculum" or "interesting teaching that eliminates discipline problems." Such bromides should be eschewed in modern educational planning. Specific and effective steps will be needed to police students in schools which seek to mix persons of widely varying social backgrounds. It would be unwise to throw the major burden for such control on individual teachers.

We have yet to learn how effective staffing of city schools will affect discipline but the addition of numerous adults in diverse roles should help to achieve greater control. Administrative officials should be sufficiently numerous and trained well enough to deal, continually, with problems as they arise. The generalist conception of the teacher as responsible for all facets of student behavior should be replaced, and expectations about teacher's tasks in the disciplinary area changed. The school should be so structured that when student behavior interferes with instruction, the teacher is free to request and receive immediate and effective assistance. Provision of such disciplinary support will cost money and points to the need for an adequate financial base for the successful operation of large and diverse city schools.

Heterogeneous school populations will force other issues to the surface. Although the norms which currently govern teacher assignments are largely informal, it appears that most faculties develop strong expectations that equity will prevail in the distribution of responsibilities. More diverse schools will create possibilities for greater inequities, at least in teacher perceptions. Since such allocations are a likely source of difficulty, the wisdom of teacher participation in anticipating them is evident. Full use of group process professionals is indicated where feelings involve such difficult matters as race and children of impoverished background; the human preparation of teachers for educational complexes should be treated as a major necessity.

Experience offers some encouragement, however, on the retention of teachers in integrated schools. Much of the flight of white teachers is associated with the rapid and near-total replacement of white by Negro students; residential segregation has meant that few neighborhood schools approached an even distribution of the races. Where such a balance is found, however, we can also find integrated school faculties. This suggests the rather obvious point that educational parks, to attract teachers of both races, must be genuinely integrated. To achieve a viable balance, great care will be necessary in selecting appropriate sites for such schools; they should, of course, be located to avoid the taint of the ghetto or the strain, for Negro students, of moving into a strange white area. School officials should be provided with sufficient funds and other resouces needed to make good decisions on the location of educational parks. Such decisions will require careful demographic analyses, surveys of community real estate practices, surveys of homeowner intentions and the like. Great care is necessary lest a site be chosen which, although initially appropriate, is subsequently rendered inappropriate by shifts in the residential distribution of Negroes and whites.

e.

Introduction of a new type of organization offers opportunities for adding to the attractions of the public school teacher's role. The break with the past introduces new elements of freedom; there are, as well, certain advantages associated with larger size. A few suggestions should serve to illustrate some of the possibilities present in a shift to educational parks.

There is a major drawback, for teachers, in the current organization of schools. Although the neighborhood school is indeed "cozy," it is often a lonely place to work. Teachers complain that their daily round is an isolated one; the absence of sufficient daily contact with a variety of adults leads the list of costs teachers attribute to their occupation.[8] The concentration and proximity of many adults characteristic of an educational park approach offers hope of overcoming this particular problem. The teacher could be freed from her constant responsibility for students (this is particularly so for elementary teachers) through the use of permanent substitutes made possible by gains of concentration. Economies of scale would permit the construction of facilities for teachers, such as special dining rooms, libraries, recreational areas, etc., which would enlarge opportunities for daily interaction. Teachers could be freed to visit their colleagues at work; current arrangements give the individual teacher little opportunity to learn from others as they teach. Enlargement of the teacher's daily contacts would be pleasant and profitable—it could produce greater professional stimulation.

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[8] In research in process by the writer. This tendency is particularly marked among women—it is they who are most likely to lament the fact of isolation. Effective correction of this difficulty would act, therefore, to attract elementary and secondary women to the educational park.

Small schools, ironically, provide neither sufficient adult contact for teachers nor sufficient opportunities for privacy; teachers may have no place where they can work, uninterrupted, on lesson planning, reviewing papers or, quite simply, taking a needed rest. Designers of educational parks could take this opportunity to build in this needed resource of private space; offices for teachers might do considerably more than we would expect for the dignity and prestige of that critical occupation.

Economies of scale have their counterpart in the concentration of human resources. Large complexes should permit the more effective use of highly specialized personnel to assist teachers in particular aspects of their work. Current arrangements for system-wide supervision are rarely adequate; one difficulty is the time and effectiveness lost through travel from school to school. Most elementary teachers, for example, doubt their competence in music and art—they would welcome specialists to teach those subjects. High school teachers state their readiness to have guest lecturers on areas they know least well. Highly specialized teachers could be pooled and used more efficiently in large parks.

One of the banes of the teacher's life is the constant and tedious clerical work he or she is required to do. Large centers, justifying the cost of a computer, could be organized to minimize the actual recordkeeping and computation expected of the classroom teacher. Any reduction of this aspect of the teacher's workload would be more than welcome; freedom from clerical routines would be a significant attraction.

A final comment on the design of educational parks and the issue of attracting and holding teachers. One of the strengths of the complex idea lies in its potentialities for economies of scale. There is the danger that proponents, eager to gain acceptance for the park approach, will overemphasize the "bargain" aspects of such schools. Yet it must be noted that certain tools which are important to teachers will *not* be less expensive. Quality books in sufficient quantity, audiovisual equipment, laboratory equipment, and other moveables will not be cheaper because they are located in educational parks. The tools the teacher uses on a day-to-day basis affect his or her feelings about the school and the job; it will not pay to skimp on such facilities. Should that occur, teachers will more than likely conclude that the educational park is another attempt to coat the pill of inadequate city school facilities.

III

It is ironical that the educational complex, a form of school organization that can further instructional innovation, requires conservative introduction. But prudence is warranted for reasons other than the need to attract teaching personnel. Although there are several potentially important innovations in sight today, time will be needed to assess their merits and to refine them for regular use in schools. Some major innovations, such as computer-assisted instruction and programed learning, require scarce skills and knowledge for development, application, and training others in their use. It will take time to build a core staff of persons to lead in the anticipated changes in instructional practice.

Educational parks, through economies of scale, will facilitate innovations which call for expensive capital equipment. A less obvious advantage is sociological and stems from the concentration of people envisaged in the complex. As in the city, a denser population leads to greater variety in human relationships and greater diversity in the creation and flow of ideas.[9] Cities, not villages, spawn civilizations; choice among alternatives and cultural riches occur where ideas and persons mix freely in diverse relationship. Thus the educational complexes, if properly used, could produce a higher culture within the school. In this section, we shall concentrate on the issue of quality and explore the possibility that educational parks, in addition to providing greater equality of educational opportunity, may also result in higher quality instruction for city students.

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[9] This idea is fully developed in the writing of the sociologist Robert Park. See Park, Robert E., *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950). Especially pt. I.

a.

The design for the educational park could include an internal "laboratory school" aimed at sparking improvement in all phases of instruction. This pace-setting unit could be staffed by persons who possess scarce expertise in a variety of subjects and instructional approaches. It might, for example, include persons who can write programs for computers and instruct teachers in how to use them. Specialists in various subjects, from history to physics, could be available to work with teachers. Teachers and students, furthermore, could be rotated through the laboratory school for limited periods of time. Teachers could gain experience, with the assistance of specialists, in learning and applying new techniques of instruction. Students could participate, for brief periods, without serious loss to their regular programs of study. Thus could a regular mechanism for improving instruction be made part of the day-to-day life of the educational park teacher; it is this sort of advantage which lies in the concentration of resources found in a complex organization.

A system of internal training and innovation should permit teachers control over the rate at which they make changes in their work.[10] A park with subunits marked by considerable autonomy linked to a central laboratory school would meet this need; teachers, as they come to master and respect a new technique, could introduce it into their regular assignments. Initial work on their part would, of course, be based on the approaches already mastered; the chance to learn new approaches by doing, coupled with a flexible physical plant and an atmosphere conducive to innovation, would facilitate voluntary decisions by teachers. Such a system would not be based on coercion, and teachers would use techniques only as they decide to do so. This approach has an additional advantage; it would provide curbs to offset any excesses induced by the natural enthusiasm innovators have for their product.

Organizational pluralism, represented by a congeries of subunits, is well-adapted to the initiation and retention of diverse approaches. Subunits could be so organized as to emphasize different techniques in different mixes; such divergence, by broadening the possibilities open for any given student, would enrich the instructional resources of the school. Counselors could decide what mix of instructional approaches, social setting, etc., is best suited to the individual child; the standardization now current in schools could be replaced by a closer linkage of individual need to specific program. Sensitive counselors could, as well, use the options before them to prevent the resegregation of children that some times occurs in the form of ability groupings. Diverse approaches also facilitate research, for they permit comparison and evaluation of the effects of input-output relationships. Practices which proved generally effective could be put into practice as part of the common core of the educational park, and a beneficial cycle of differentiation, assessment, diffusion and further differentiation, etc., could be brought into play. Nor need we assume that different parks would decide on common approaches; creative laboratory schools, situated near different university influences, etc., might well prove variegated.

The educational complex could contribute to more effective ties between city schools and other cultural institutions. This possibility can be illustrated by citing the case of school-university relationships.

Recent years have seen greater emphasis on linkages between universities and schools; much of the innovation being undertaken today has, in fact, resulted from such cooperation. Yet those in universities face a problem in working with school personnel, for direct contact, given the dispersal of neighborhood schools, forces the professor to work within a small orbit. It is not clear, moreover, that successful efforts in one part of the public school establishment will be communicated to other sectors; promising undertakings may fail to receive attention simply because of inadequate communications among schools and school systems.

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[10] In a study of teachers in the Dade County, Fla., public schools, conducted by the author, the majority were critical of the speed with which innovations were introduced in that system. There were teachers who accepted the desirability of change yet objected to specific changes because of the rate at which they were introduced.

Larger school units, as represented by the educational park, could improve this aspect of university-school relationships. Time spent on matters affecting the entire complex would involve thousands of students; there would be no problem of limited impact. Internal arrangements which facilitated the diffusion of effective practices would also prove attractive to the university developer. He would be reassured to know that teachers in the complex at large would have opportunities to observe and try out the approaches he has in mind.

The possibility of immediate access to a large body of students located on one site, coupled with effective arrangements for internal communication, would facilitate relationships not only with universities but with museums of art and science, television stations, government bodies, newspaper offices, industry, etc. Such ties to our culture at large could broaden the perspective of teachers and students in ways which do not occur in a system of isolated and dispersed neighborhood schools.

b.

Instructional innovation may affect more than the students who receive it—it has a way of changing teacher roles as well. This process and some of its implications can be explored by reviewing specific innovations and their likely effect on the tasks and relationships of the public school teacher. I shall discuss three such innovations: (1) the ungraded school, (2) computer-assisted instruction, and (3) team teaching. It is too early for us to have research evidence on the effect of these changes; what follows is prologue to needed inquiry rather than the outcome of systematic study.

Ungraded schools may be organized in a variety of ways but they share the common objective of freeing students and teachers from automatic classifications and learning sequences based, primarily, on the age of the student. The goal is to bring the student's activity in school closer to his personal needs and actual development. All ungraded approaches, no matter what the specifics, require close and accurate observation of individual students and sensitive decisions based on that observation. Staff members are forced to "see" the individual child and to assess his unique nature and situation. The value of the approach hinges on the quality of those decisions; unless they are effective, the ungraded school offers slight advantage over more routinized forms of instruction.

Loosening the constraints imposed by age-grading does not, in itself, result in a major change in the teacher's role. But the continual need to make decisions about individual children, decisions which are often difficult, can induce changes in the teacher's attitude. Needing more and better information on which to base decisions, the teacher may be readier to learn what others have observed and how they have interpreted their observations. The psychologist's test, for example, may be seen in a different light as the teachers seek a firmer base for complex decisions. The outcome can be more mutual consultation among teachers, and closer working relationships with persons of specialized competence.

By focusing on individual students and encouraging greater collegiality among teachers, ungraded schools move teaching toward a more professional type of role performance. Routine "solutions," based on the needs of a group, are replaced by hard thought about individuals, isolated judgments by visible decisions, the lone practitioner by consulting colleagues. One finds similar shifts as one moves to the higher quality hospitals, law firms and architectural offices; reflective action in a context of colleague visibility is probably the hallmark of quality professional service.

Ungraded approaches may also lead to closer observation of the effects of teacher decisions, for specific approaches used to deal with specific problems are more visible than general pedagogical styles. Techniques which increase the specificity of teacher self-evaluation will advance the quality of instruction over time; visible failure is a prod to better performance. The long-range effects of ungraded arrangements will probably include deeper preparation in the behavioral sciences as teachers seek better backgrounds for making human decisions. Preparation programs for teachers will probably respond, should ungraded schooling become sufficiently general, by including more experience in the disciplined observation and analysis of children.

Computer-assisted instruction, as yet in an early stage of development, has enthusiastic proponents who predict great potential for advancing individually oriented and self-directed learning.[11] Should such predictions prove valid, the computer could have serious effects on the role of the teacher. The balance of collectively oriented versus individually oriented efforts would be tipped, presumably, toward the latter. Students would spend considerably greater proportions of their time working alone, and the proportion of teacher to class-as-a-whole interactions reduced. Some expect that computers, in addition to providing practice with ideas, will take over much of the initial conveyance of basic information. Should this occur, the teacher's role would move from the leadership of a group to an emphasis on a series of dyadic relationships with students.

Much remains to be learned about the possibilities in computer-assisted instruction and the limits that might constrain its usefulness in schools. Its potential appears to lie, however, primarily in the cognitive domain and, within that, in particular types of learning.[12] Like any machine, it can operate only with ideas which can be communicated through standard symbolic systems; there is much that happens in teaching and learning which is beyond the reach of such condensation. For computers to replace teachers would require a considerable shift in our conception of what constitutes an education.

Yet computers, if effective, will provide experiences currently conducted by teachers; their widespread use would therefore involve changes in the teacher's role. My own guess is that teachers would move toward greater emphasis on motivating individual children and assisting those who encounter difficulty; such a change in emphasis would, in all likelihood, benefit those children, often from disadvantaged homes, who currently fall behind. The overall effect would be to stress individualistic aspects of the teacher's work; as in ungraded instruction, there would be a greater propensity for teachers to ask, "How can I help this particular child?"

It would not be long, were computers to take over any significant proportion of the teacher's tasks, before gaps in our knowledge would become painfully apparent. Detailed knowledge about how individual students learn or fail to learn particular things is very limited; what we know today falls short of providing an adequate base for teachers who can spend a high proportion of their time with individual students. Teachers currently orient most of their teaching to groups of students; chances to become deeply involved with the learning problems of single students are scarce, to say the least. Should tutoring become the main work of the teacher, puzzlement and tension would probably arise. The short-range result would be painful for teachers, and those planning the more-than-casual use of computers should be prepared to deal with such difficulties. Yet the long-range outcomes, given the availability and sophisticated use of research resources, could be more solid and effective pedagogical knowledge than we currently possess.

It probably will be some time before any considerable number of teachers, in educational parks or elsewhere, work alongside computers. There is considerable development work needed, and such work probably will be undertaken by specialists in business organizations and universities. Diffusion of computer-assisted instruction will require changes both in the preservice training of teachers and in inservice programs. Teachers will have to know their subjects better to analyze its content and translate it into computer operations. They will obviously need familiarity with the operation of computers and the languages they understand. Greater emphasis on tutoring will suggest better understanding of the dynamics of individual personalities. The dynamic nature of computer technology, on the other hand, will result in rapid obsolescence of preservice training, for libraries of programs will proliferate, new languages be developed and techniques refined. Computerization of instruction will require inservice efforts that are intense, continual and effective. Any attempt to project economic costs involved in the use of computer-based instruction should include considerably greater expense for the training and retraining of school faculties.

Some form of team teaching may prove useful to those designing and implementing educational parks. The use of aides, the need for consultation stimulated by ungraded arrangements and, indeed, change in general, point toward new combinations of staff members. I shall make a few comments here on how team teaching might fit into the educational complex; I have dealt with team teaching as such in another place.[13]

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[11] I wish to thank Robert Rippey for useful ideas on prospects for computer-assisted instruction.

[12] This idea has been stimulated by reading an unpublished paper by Philip Jackson.

[13] Shaplin, Judson and Olds, Henry, editors, *Team Teaching*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), ch. 9.

Team teaching provides a vehicle for the induction of beginning teachers, and such initiation, given a more complex, technically advanced school, will increase in importance. The likelihood that colleges and universities preparing teachers will lay greater emphasis on both subject matter mastery and the behavioral sciences has been mentioned. The professional preparation of teachers, therefore, may move in the direction found in highly established professions—the actual skills involved, rather than being taught in the university, may be learned at the place of work. Team teaching, with its delegation of simpler tasks to beginners working under experienced practitioners, offers a way to improve the mastery of work skills.

The isolation of teachers in separate schools and, within them, separate classrooms, has inhibited the development of a refined "technical subculture." But as team teaching calls for more frequent interaction and more precise coordination of effort, communicative needs will arise and with them, recognition of the need for a more precise rhetoric of teaching. The development of such a common language could result in more codification of effective teaching practices and, through time, more rigorous assessment of working assumptions.

We have reviewed the possible effects of three innovations, likely to occur in educational parks, and likely, if our speculations prove accurate, to stimulate new and different levels of teaching performance. Ungraded approaches, computer-assisted instruction and team teaching all contain possibilities for the professional development of the teaching occupation. Inasmuch as more reflective, scientifically oriented, and collegial teachers will prove more effective, such innovations, supported by the characteristics of the educational park, will add to the quality of instruction available to children in our cities. Imaginative use of the educational park approach, therefore, need not sacrifice quality to equality; the challenge facing schoolmen is to increase both the distribution and excellence of public school instruction.

IV

A brief summary seems in order. This paper began with consideration of current inequities in the distribution of public school teachers. I took the position that such inequities are rooted in the great discrepancy between slum and other schools. Review of current proposals to improve teacher distribution strongly suggests that effective change will require more than improvements initiated within the existing system of small, dispersed schools. It does not appear possible to attain equality of opportunity, as far as teaching is concerned, within the constraints imposed by the neighborhood school system.

Examination of a major organizational alternative, the educational park, reveals that it is likely to produce resistance among some public school teachers. I stated the opinion, however, that given certain conditions, enough teachers could be attracted to undertake pilot projects in our cities. The conditions are vital, and statesmanship of a high order will be needed to administer the shift from neighborhood schools to educational complexes. Yet the educational park approach offers what other proposed solutions do not; it could result in a just and equitable distribution of teachers for Negro students and members of other disadvantaged groups.

I discussed the possibilities for innovation that lie within the educational complex idea. Economies of scale plus the concentration of resources facilitate innovation; some suggestions were made on how voluntary teacher decisions to undertake new approaches might be encouraged. Large centers would also improve relationships with other cultural institutions. Consideration of three specific innovations reveals that given appropriate implementation, these innovations could increase both the attention received by individual students and the general level of teacher performance. Inasmuch as such changes can improve the quality of instruction, the educational park promises such improvements for students in our cities.

Appendix D 2.5

DESEGREGATION TECHNIQUES

(This paper was prepared for the Commission by Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, Superintendent of Schools, Berkeley, Calif.)

Educational leaders, particularly in the cities, are increasingly coming to recognize *de facto* segregation as the most pressing problem with which they must come to grips today. This recognition is in itself progress. Until recently educators generally felt that segregation was not their problem—that their problem was simply to provide the curriculum required for whatever students happened to show up at a given school. There remains today a powerful rear guard of school officials who are still fighting that battle. However, they are now finding themselves forced to get into the subject of racial composition of schools whether they think it belongs in their domain or not.

Fortunately an ever-growing number of school officials are recognizing the positive educational implications of integration and they are voluntarily moving into the vanguard of the struggle to end all forms of segregation—*de facto* as well as *de jure*. We thus find a still small but growing number of educators who, instead of waiting until they are forced to move grudgingly by pressure from civil rights groups, are working closely with these groups and all segments of the community to attack this common problem. In this type of individual of "goodwill"—both lay and professional—lies our best hope for solving the problem.

Segregation has long been one of my major concerns. During the almost 20 years I have served as a superintendent of schools, I have been privileged to take part in many endeavors aimed at coming to grips with problems of segregation—both *de facto* and *de jure*.

I was privileged to serve as the Superintendent of the Free Schools in Prince Edward County, Va. These schools were reopened by the Kennedy Administration as private schools after the public schools had been closed for 4 years by county officials in defiance of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown* decision.

As a superintendent of schools at Long Island, N.Y., I worked with neighboring school superintendents and boards of education with the support of the dynamic State Commissioner of Education, James E. Allen, in an attempt to integrate the schools of this massive suburban area as the Negro population pushed out from Harlem, Brooklyn, and the Bronx.

I have served as an educational consultant in several major cities and for the Model School Division in Washington, D.C. Here we used a myriad of compensatory educational programs and innovative techniques designed to provide remedial help and stimulation for the Negro child in an attempt to make up for ghetto school conditions. I came away from Washington, as I did from the other American cities where similar efforts had been made, knowing that while the efforts were commendable, the end result would still leave the individual Negro child several years behind his middle-class brother attending schools outside the segregated Negro area.

I am now starting my third year as Superintendent of Schools in Berkeley, Calif., where I have enjoyed unparalleled success in desegregating segments of our public school system. This success still falls far short of what is needed if we are truly committed to a program of quality education for all American children.

I have observed with deep regret the forced retirement of competent educators and superintendents who could not solve the multidimensioned problem of school integration despite the best of intentions and firm resolve. Some of my colleagues made valiant efforts using different administrative techniques and still failed to come up with programs that were satisfactory to the citizenry. Others, because of personal bias or recalcitrant board members, never made serious efforts to solve the problems. Few American cities with sizable minority populations have escaped the problem. A highly respected colleague, Calvin Gross, was dismissed after trying for 2 years to come to grips with the problem in New York City. Militant civil rights groups staged massive demonstrations in Chicago demanding the dismissal of veteran school superintendent, Benjamin Willis. Elected officials in San Francisco asked the incumbent superintendent of schools Harold Spears, newly elected president of AASA [American Association of School Administrators], to retire early. Samuel Brownell, superintendent of schools in Detroit, had serious problems in Northern High School and militant civil rights groups were pleased that he was retiring in August 1966.

The "approach" used in attacking the problem must of necessity vary from community to community. Most of the major cities of the country will face problems of distance. Many cities will find it necessary to overcome traditions that run counter to racial integration. Educators in all communities will find their efforts toward solution of this problem complicated by other aspects of the community life (e.g. housing segregation) over which they have little, if any, control. There are no pat solutions that can be applied universally. Although cities have much to gain by taking note of experience gained in other communities, each must solve its problems in the light of its unique situation.

CRITERIA FOR SOLUTIONS

Although cities will vary in the way in which they attack the problem and in the details of the solutions they develop, their approaches must meet certain criteria if their solutions are to be genuine. These criteria include the following:

1. Segregation must in fact be ended. This point should be self-evident. However, in too many cases the so-called solutions developed represent token gestures toward racial balance but do not wipe out *de facto* segregation. It may not be possible to wipe out *de facto* segregation totally overnight, but a community must accept the fact that tensions will continue and the problem will not be solved until this result has finally been achieved.
2. Desegregation must be combined with a general program of educational improvement. It is not enough simply to mix youngsters, many of whom come from a background of educational deprivation. These children must be given special help to overcome this deficit and to succeed in the new environment. Also large segments of our communities, unconvinced of the educational necessity for integration, must be shown that the new program is in the best interests of all children.
3. The "solution" to *de facto* segregation must involve the *total* community. No area of the city must be made to feel that it is being picked on or sacrificed to solve a total community problem. The experience of my own city is an example. A proposal made by a citizens' committee to achieve desegregation by redistricting junior high school boundaries met with a storm of protest in one area of the community that felt it was being sacrificed to solve a citywide problem. When, in the course of community deliberation, another plan was substituted, providing an even greater degree of integration and involving *all* areas of the city, the community accepted the proposal. This criteria also means that Negroes cannot be asked to bear the total brunt of the drawbacks (e.g. long distance travel) accompanying desegregation. *De facto* segregation is a community-wide problem and must be solved on a community-wide basis.
4. Educators in working toward the solution to the problems of *de facto* segregation must act in good faith, and build the confidence of the community in that good faith. Unless such confidence is built securely, educators risk being considered antagonists and too often are denied the time and community cooperation needed to prepare programs for solving the problems.

Any program designed to combat the evils of de facto segregation must be examined in the light of these criteria. With them in mind I turn to the more common approaches that have been used in various places as antidotes to the problems of *de facto* segregation.

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Open Enrollment

One of the most common attempts to combat *de facto* segregation is through some form of "open enrollment." Basically, this approach permits students who would normally go to one school to go to another one provided there is room. In general, this plan involves permission for minority students in segregated, low-prestige, minority schools to occupy vacancies in higher prestige Caucasian schools in other parts of the city. Although transfers in the reverse direction are sometimes permitted, it is extremely rare that a significant number of them result. Usually the transfers are voluntary. Districts having open enrollment vary in their practices concerning transportation of the students: some districts provide it; others leave it as a responsibility of the parents.

Open enrollment, if combined with a program of general educational improvement, can be helpful as a first step in the direction of integration. However, it is totally inadequate as a long-range solution to the problem. Through open enrollment, a start, token though it may be, can be made in bringing integration to erstwhile Caucasian schools. This can be beneficial both for the students being transferred and for the students already enrolled in the receiving school. Likewise, the reduction in enrollment in ghetto schools which results from this kind of program can make it possible to reduce class size and thereby improve the educational program in those schools.

Furthermore, as a first step in integration, open enrollment has the tactical advantage of being very difficult to oppose, since the opponents of integration are more apt to be in the receiving schools. It is very difficult for them to think up "acceptable" reasons for opposing the move since their own youngsters are not being moved anywhere. They are placed in the position of having to come right out and say that they oppose it because they do not want their children mixing with Negroes or keeping quiet altogether.

Minority students whose parents are willing to have them transfer out of their neighborhoods to Caucasian schools are more apt to be students who believe in integration. Hence, both in appearance and conduct they can be expected to make friends for the cause of integration and to help break down resistance based on lack of association across racial lines.

The experience of Berkeley elementary schools, in a program financed by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, illustrates both how open enrollment can be used as an initial step in the direction of integration and how it falls short as an ultimate solution. Although we had already desegregated our secondary schools the year before, the elementary schools remained substantially segregated. We established as our first priority in use of ESEA funds, the reduction of pupil-teacher ratio in the four predominantly Negro south and west Berkeley schools. A reduction of class size gave us an average of about 230 students in these four schools. We found that we had spaces for 230 youngsters in the schools (mostly Caucasian) in other sections of the city. With ESEA funds we purchased buses and transported students to the receiver schools. This program was voluntary. No students whose parents objected were moved. Although there was some grumbling, and I suspect even more latent opposition, opponents of this plan were hard pressed to find grounds for opposing it publicly without appearing to be racial bigots. Hence most of them kept quiet. The actual transfer was preceded by careful planning of transportation, and preparation of the youngsters and their parents (those being transferred and those in the receiver schools). Despite a few minor problems apt to accompany any new program, the experience was overwhelmingly successful and the program helped to reduce hostility toward desegregation.

We were careful, however, not to build this program up as the answer to elementary school segregation. We stressed its connection to a general program of raising educational levels all over the city. Most of our ESEA funds were spent to provide more teachers and other staff members in the south and west Berkeley schools. The program did achieve limited integration in the receiver elementary schools. However, in terms of numbers this integration was token. It did nothing to end segregation in the sending schools. Although these schools obtained the benefits of an improved educational program and reduced class size, they remained as segregated as before. Many Negroes who supported our transfer program are now raising the question of when Caucasians are going to be bused down to their schools. I expect this kind of inquiry to become more insistent and for parents whose children are not included in the open enrollment program to object to having to send their children to segregated schools. We do not consider that we have solved the problem of elementary school desegregation.

The city of Baltimore is another example of the strengths and weaknesses of open enrollment used for desegregation. In 1954, soon after the famous Supreme Court ruling, Baltimore abolished *de jure* segregation, using a policy of open enrollment without regard to race. There was an immediate move on the part of Negroes to "open enroll" in Caucasian schools, particularly in the central sections of the city. For the first few years after 1954, there was an increase in the amount of desegregation in these erstwhile Caucasian schools. By the early sixties, however, the same open enrollment prerogative was being used by Caucasians to move from these newly integrated schools into Caucasian schools still farther out near the periphery of the city. This resulted in a trend away from desegregation toward resegregation. Schools that formerly were segregated Caucasian went through a transitional period of being desegregated, then became segregated Negro. This trend was accelerated by the change in housing patterns, with the proportion of Negroes in the inner-city steadily increasing. Here again is an example of open enrollment achieving some initial success in desegregation but failing completely as a long-term solution.

There are three basic reasons why open enrollment must be rejected as the ultimate solution to the segregation problem:

1. The desegregation achieved in the receiving schools is token at best.
2. The sending schools in almost every case are just as segregated as they were before (and sometimes have been stripped of their leading students). Besides this,

their morale can be adversely affected by the implied criticism of having students leave to seek a "better" situation elsewhere.

3. A false feeling of accomplishment with having adopted an open enrollment program could get in the way of educators addressing themselves to the task of developing a genuine solution.

Two-way Busing (Reverse Busing)

This type of program keeps the schools essentially as they are except that they would be desegregated by busing some students from segregated Negro schools to segregated Caucasian schools and vice versa. I know of no place in the country where this is being done on any significant scale. To be a genuine desegregating measure this "shuttle service" would have to encompass almost half of the students in each building involved in the trade. This kind of program differs from the Princeton Plan (which will be discussed later) since both schools continue to serve substantially the same grade levels. Theoretically, complete integration could be achieved by this method. It likewise would fulfill the criteria of involving the total community. However, this kind of program is not realistic in terms of community acceptance. Caucasians in cities all over the country have made it abundantly clear that they are not going to sit still for having their children permanently bused to schools in minority ghetto areas. The selection of students to be transported to the opposite school poses nearly insurmountable problems.

In given communities Negroes have consented to permit their children to be transported to predominantly Caucasian schools in a one-way busing arrangement, motivated doubtless by a feeling that they would get a better education in the receiving school and by a commitment to integration that is strong enough to overcome their hesitancy in having their children transported over a long distance. However, I predict that in a short time Negroes will refuse to consent to this one-way busing arrangement as being too one-sided an attempt to solve what is really a total community problem. Eventually Negroes will refuse to go along with having their children transported to Caucasian areas unless there is a reciprocal arrangement in the opposite direction. Thus, in most communities two-way busing between Caucasian and minority ghettos will not provide the answer to *de facto* segregation. A lone exception to this would be a so-called Princeton Plan which is discussed next.

Princeton Plan

The Princeton Plan calls for abolishing segregation between two schools by having all of the students of the two combined attendance areas attend one of the schools for certain grades and then all of them go to the other school for other grades. Thus, each of the two schools would draw from the entire combined attendance areas for those grade levels which it serves. The desegregation is total for the two attendance areas. There have been many modifications of this plan since Princeton, N.J., first used it to solve its problems in the late forties. This type of plan, where it can be used feasibly, meets all of the criteria for a successful solution of *de facto* segregation discussed above. The desegregation is complete; the number of students on each school site at a given grade level is increased, thereby offering greater flexibility in grouping and scheduling and better chance for teacher specialization and use of specialized equipment. This plan also involves the total community. In a small community like Princeton, with only two schools, such a plan could be effective.

In the large cities, where the problem exists, this plan is difficult to implement. For prime effectiveness the two schools involved must be close to each other. The segregated Caucasian and segregated Negro schools in the average major city are located far apart, frequently separated by a "buffer zone" of relatively integrated schools. Thus, finding the schools to match each other in a Princeton Plan would pose difficulties. To be effective in a large city, the plan must be accompanied by a massive two-way busing program. This is not impossible but does pose great difficulties.

Redistricting

Sometimes it is possible to improve the racial balance between adjacent schools simply by altering the attendance boundary between them. This is rarely satisfactory. First, it is difficult when redrawing boundaries to avoid overloading one school and leaving another with empty space. Second, communities are changing at such a pace that any gains for integration achieved through redistricting are usually short lived. Third, people affected by the redistricting frequently fight it vehemently. While it is sometimes necessary to move forward with a desirable program in spite of opposition, the relatively minor and temporary gains to be made through redistricting frequently are not worth the antagonism that can be aroused. Redistricting, likewise, suffers from the same handicap as the Princeton Plan as far as the big cities are concerned. Only rarely are a segregated Caucasian school and segregated Negro school side by side. Usuaully there are intervening schools in various stages of desegregation and transition. Schools deep in the heart of either a Negro or Caucasian ghetto are relatively unreachable by this means. Although individual situations might be alleviated in given smaller communities, redistricting is not a promising approach to the problem in the large metropolitan areas.

Paired Schools

Many schools have adopted programs of pairing schools (one Caucasian, the other predominantly minority) into partnership arrangements. In this type of program students frequently share such activities as playdays, science camping trips, assembly programs, joint PTA and/or faculty meetings, and even open enrollment between the two schools. Except for the latter feature, this program completely begs the question of segregation in enrollment. In effect, it concedes segregation and then attempts to provide some "integrated experiences" while keeping the enrollment separate. As an answer to segregation this program has been totally, and rightly, rejected by Negroes. The only way to make paired schools work for desegregation would be to have the paired schools involved in a two-way busing arrangement or a Princeton Plan between them. The strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches just discussed would then apply to the paired schools. Although better than nothing in terms of giving teacher, students, and parents a chance to have some contact with members of other races, the paired school plan cannot be considered as anything more than an introduction to intergroup contact. If considered as an answer to *de facto* segregation, this approach can be harmful by dissipating energies that would be better spent looking for an actual solution.

One-Grade School

This is a modified "Princeton" approach and has been used in medium-sized cities to overcome *de facto* segregation among three or more schools at a given level (e.g. elementary, junior high). Berkeley, Calif., and the New Jersey cities of Englewood and Teaneck have used the plan to eliminate segregation at a particular level. Berkeley formerly had three junior high schools, each serving grades 7 to 9. This city converted the predominantly Negro junior high school into a school serving all ninth graders in the city. The two remaining junior high schools then divided the city between them for grades 7 and 8. Since there were only two schools for grades 7 and 8, it was possible to divide the Negro and Caucasian areas of the city between them so that each was a desegregated school. Since Berkeley already had only a single senior high school, this enabled us totally to eliminate *de facto* segregation at the secondary level. The ninth grade school has been renamed the "West Campus" of Berkeley High School and organizationally is considered to be part of a 4-year high school program.

In Teaneck, N.J., the concern was at the elementary level. There a predominantly Negro school was converted into a school serving a single grade, the 6th grade. The remaining schools were made kindergarten through five and the students who formerly would have attended the predominantly Negro elementary school were divided among them. Thus, *de facto* segregation was wiped out at the elementary level in Teaneck. Although the programs in Teaneck and Berkeley were developed independently, the sequence of events in the two communities, including the time element, bear amazing similarities. Both communities took these steps voluntarily after thorough study and widespread community discussion of the subject. In each case there was spirited local opposition from those who did not feel it necessary to overcome *de facto* segregation. In Teaneck there were strong threats of physical violence—even to the extent that the police provided protection for the superintendent and were at school when the new program was first implemented. In Berkeley the board members were subjected to a "Recall Election" after adopting the new program. Fortunately, the community sustained the board members by a substantial majority.

Englewood presents a slightly different picture although its "solution" was similar to that of Teaneck. Englewood closed its predominantly Negro school and converted it into an administration building. They then made one of the remaining schools a 6th-grade school and divided attendance boundaries among the others in such a way that *de facto* segregation was eliminated. Since that time Englewood has gone further and designated two of its schools to be 2-year 5th- and 6-grade schools, preparatory to moving to a 5 to 8 middle school arrangment in future years. Thus Englewood had a one grade-school arrangement only temporarily. Englewood differed somewhat from Teaneck and Berkeley in that its progress was not entirely voluntary. In fact a community vote defeated a desegregation proposal when first introduced. Although the administration and staff were eager to move ahead, progress came only after the State Commissioner of Education mandated desegregation.

As these examples illustrate the one-grade school can be used in certain situations to achieve integration. The geography of a community and the density of population at each grade level must be considered in this kind of program. These considerations could be limiting factors in very large cities.

Although this approach has produced desegregation in the cities mentioned, educators are divided on the wisdom of creating separate schools that serve only one grade. In my opinion, students need much more than that to become adjusted to a school and to be able to get the maximum benefit from its offerings. I feel that by going to a new organization Berkeley has made a definite advance over the *de facto* segregated 3-year junior high school organization which it had previously. However, I feel the students would be better off, from an educational and psychological standpoint, if the 9th grade were located on the same campus with grades 10 to 12, with one site serving all 4 years of high school. We are currently exploring in Berkeley the possibility of acquiring such a site. In my opinion Englewood is moving in the right direction by going from a single-grade 6th-grade school in the direction of a 4-year middle school serving grades 5 to 8.

Children's Academy

Although it does not provide complete integration, a proposal has been developed in Mount Vernon, N.Y., to provide limited desegregation for each child while retaining use of the neighborhood schools. The Mount Vernon proposal envisions placing a "children's academy" on a large tract of land. All the children in the city would be bused in staggered shifts to this academy for 2 hours a day. The balance of their program would be spent in their neighborhood schools. The district's various subject area specialists would be assigned to the children's academy. Each youngster would have a special program worked out for him at that site. Once the children were bused to the academy, they would be dispersed and would not remain intact as school groups. Thus, for that portion of the day which was spent on the children's academy the children would be in totally desegregated programs. Since one-third or one-half of the students would be at the children's academy during each period of the day, the neighborhood schools would be accommodating a proportionally smaller group at any given time. This would enable them to make drastic reductions in class size and would provide the opportunity for greater flexibility in grouping and scheduling.

This proposal has the advantage of providing at least some integration for every child in the school system while still making use of the millions of dollars which the district has already invested in its existing school plant. The proposal is being attacked, however from both directions. Those who oppose any integration attack it as being too great a concession to civil rights groups. The civil rights groups attack it on the ground that it does not provide total integration.

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The above discussion outlines major types of programs that have been developed in an effort to come to grips with the *de facto* segregation problem. There are probably as many variations of these ideas as there are communities that have tried them. In many instances satisfactory local programs have been developed along the lines of one or a combination of some of the plans I have discussed. I feel strongly, however, that the ultimate solution to the problem does not lie along any of these lines, particularly in the large cities where the problem is most acute. In the latter communities these programs are merely patchwork and in many cases do little more than ease the localized pressure without coming to grips with the basic district-wide problem. What is really needed is a massive overhaul of school systems as a whole. In fact, with our inner cities moving in the direction of becoming minority centers surrounded by Caucasian suburbs, ultimate solutions will almost certainly have to be accomplished on a regional basis crossing local school district lines. The only serious proposal to date which offers promise of effecting a real solution to the *de facto* segregation problem, and meeting the other criteria I have discussed here, is the "educational park" concept.

Educational Parks

There are probably as many definitions for educational parks as there are people defining them. Individual park projects differ in the number of grade levels served, in acreage, in size of attendance area from which students are drawn and in the type of program envisioned. However, all educational parks have certain features in common. They are designed for a relatively large student body and attendance area compared to the traditional neighborhood school.

By drawing students from many neighborhoods over a large area of the city (or across city lines) educational parks afford greatly improved opportunities for bringing together students of different races, ethnic groups, social, economic, and cultural strata. In small or medium-sized multiracial cities such parks can be located to serve all of the children in the community at given grade levels. In larger cities, or communities that are already segregated, these parks can be located near the periphery of the inner-city to serve both the minorities of the inner-city and the Caucasian students living nearer the city limits and in suburban areas. It is important in locating an educational park that it be readily accessible to all racial groups. Although the local topography will affect decisions about where parks are located they should be placed so that no single racial group feels that it must bear an unfair share of transportation problems.

Examples of how local conditions affect differences in placement of educational parks are furnished by such communities as East Orange, N.J., and Baltimore, Md., or Washington, D.C. East Orange has an interracial population of approximately 80,000 living in about 4 square miles. They are contemplating what they call an "educational plaza" to serve all of the schoolchildren in that city on one site. Since the community is interracial, the location of the park within the city could solve its *de facto* segregation problems. On the other hand, in cities like Baltimore and Washington, where the inner-cities are becoming increasingly populated with minority races (as white citizens move to the suburbs), solutions to the *de facto* segregation problem cannot be made on the basis of the inner-cities alone. The solution will have to involve the inner-cities together with the surrounding Caucasian suburbs. In such cases the parks should be located farther out from the center of the inner-cities and so placed that they are readily accessible to minority residents of the inner-cities and the Caucasian residents of the outlying areas. In both types of community, however, it should be obvious that desegregation cannot take place in small neighborhood schools serving small areas that are, in most cases, segregated to a single race. Any proposed solutions based upon retention of the neighborhood school principle are doomed to failure.

Educational parks are justifiable also from the standpoint of other important educational considerations. The large number of students at each grade level greatly enhances the possibilities for flexible scheduling, large and small group instruction, and increases the number of electives that can be offered feasibly. This concentration of students also permits more economical use of highly specialized, expensive equipment. Staff specialists can be more effectively utilized since they need not spend time traveling from school to school. More effective and economical use can be made of such expensive facilities as gymnasiums, libraries, cafeterias, auditoriums, by eliminating the need for duplication in small neighborhood schools all over the district. Deployment of staff will also effect economies and make specialists more readily available to students.

The educational park concept is a promising avenue of attack on *de facto* segregation. It is a means of making significant improvements in our educational programs and is an avenue for effecting substantial economies. Thus, while my interest in educational parks for the purposes of this paper is primarily as an integration measure, I strongly endorse the concept of educational parks even in districts that are racially homogeneous.

In Berkeley, we already have the equivalent of an educational park at the high school level. We are now addressing ourselves (the staff and a joint staff—lay citizen school master plan committee) to a study of utilizing the concept for grades kindergarten through 8. We feel that educational parks, accessible to all racial groups, represent the one solution that holds the promise of complete desegregation while providing opportunity for significant improvements in the educational program offered our young people.

COMMON FEARS RELATED TO INTEGRATION

Any proposal designed to achieve desegregation will run into opposition. Opponents will attempt to find flaws in any program. Arguments pro and con can be expected to vary; many will be relevant only to the specific proposal under attack.

However, the underlying fears which motivate opponents of desegregation are similar in all cities. Among the more common are the following:

1. Fear of loss of neighborhood school: this fear serves as the rallying cry for opponents of integration in most communities. Efforts are made to place the neighborhood school as a concept along with the Declaration of Independence and the flag as great American traditions. Efforts to tamper with it are made to appear somehow not quite patriotic. The fear itself is well founded—it is virtually impossible to develop an effective desegregation program in larger communities based upon the neighborhood school. However, the neighborhood school is not the sacrosanct institution which many of its proponents try to make it appear. Many communities have never organized their school system along neighborhood lines. Examples are those Southern communities which have students going past one school to get to another simply because enrollment at the first school is restricted to another race. Although, in prior generations, neighborhood schools have served many communities well it does not follow that the pattern cannot be changed to meet newly recognized needs and a new set of circumstances. The corner grocery is giving way to the supermarket. The small family farm, on which most of the labor was done by hand or by animal, has given way to a larger agricultural unit utilizing laborsaving equipment. The same trend is proceeding in medicine, libraries, and industry. In an era of greatly improved transportation, why should not our schools keep pace in altering their organizational patterns to meet new educational needs?
2. Fear of lowering of standards in erstwhile Caucasian schools: opponents of integration are fond of quoting standardized test scores in an effort to show that standards will be lowered in Caucasian schools if they are desegregated. Actually, these scores, in spite of their limitations, bear eloquent testimony to the failure of the "separate but equal" argument. However, such evidence as is available does not support the argument that the performance of Caucasian students is harmed by desegregation. Conversely, there is considerable evidence that the performance of Negroes is dramatically improved when exposed to the increased challenges and improved programs associated with school desegregation. Although problems can result if teachers and students are not prepared for participation in a multiracial school, these problems need not arise if there has been proper planning and preparation.
3. Fear that contact with Negro children will be harmful to Caucasian children: since this is the most bigoted of the three fears listed here, it usually is the least expressed. However, it provides the latent motivation for many people who express their opposition to desegregation in more "acceptable" terms. Actually, this "fear" is aimed in the wrong direction. It has been the Negro rather than the Caucasian who has generally felt harmful results from interracial contacts over the hundreds of years in our country's history. However, the whole argument is irrelevant. Our children, both Caucasian and Negro, are going to have increasing contact with each other whether the adults like it or not. With transportation and communication barriers down, our world is now interracial. Children of all races are going to be living in increasingly close contact with each other. The time for them to start is while they are still in school and before the prejudices of the older generations have become firmly implanted.

CONCLUSION

Now, 12 years after the historic Supreme Court decision on school segregation, we find that the problem is more acute than ever. In spite of a growing awareness of the schools' responsibilities, we find that the problem is growing faster than our efforts to come to grips with it. The changes occurring in our urban centers today make it necessary for us to "run to just stand still." In Detroit this summer a month-long conference on school desegregation, including both parents and educators, delivered an ultimatum to the Board of Education of that city to address itself to the task of complete school desegregation with a timetable attached. All of our major urban areas are facing similar situations. As educators, we *have* to move on this subject.

Just as the schools are an integral part of society at large, so must school integration be part of a massive assault on community cancers—housing, unemployment, poverty—which blight the lives of children in Negro ghettos. Our goal can be nothing short of making the American dream a reality to all citizens.

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